The Outlook

AUGUST 4, 1915

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*An unusually important and valuable series of articles will be published in The Outlook beginning within a short time. The general subject is "The Future of the Panama Canal"—that is, what the Canal will mean to the world at large, and to the United States and to South America in particular; how it will affect trade, political conditions, the health and living conditions of its neighborhood; and also possible military situations which may arise. The articles are not mere prediction, but are based on carefully ascertained facts. The author is Professor George H. Blakeslee, of Clark University, who has made a thorough study of the subject both on the ground in Panama and from many special sources of information in this country. The four topics treated in the articles will be: "The Panama Canal in Time of War;" "The Results of the Panama Canal on World Trade—North America;" "The Results of the Panama Canal on World Trade—South America and the Far East;" and "Panama and the Conquest of the Tropics."—*THE EDITORS.

THE STORY OF THE WAR: SUSPENSE IN THE EAST

The world is waiting for news from Warsaw as it waited for news from Paris last September. And as the days have passed without word of the fall of the ancient Polish capital, the hope has arisen in some breasts that, as the Germans were flung back from the very gates of Paris by a supreme effort of the French, so the men of Mackensen and Hindenburg may be hurled from the threshold of Warsaw, and the Vistula become another Marne. But as this is written indications still point to the probable capture of Warsaw by the Teutons, and even Russia seems to have not many hopes of retaining the city.

It is not the retention or the loss of Warsaw that is the greatest issue at stake, however. The vital question is whether the Russian army defending the great salient of which Warsaw is the point is to be caught between the two surfaces of the German vise that is closing on them and crushed out of existence. Far better than to run the risk of that would be the evacuation of the capital of Russian Poland.

The Germans have been attacking in greatest violence at three points: north of Warsaw, along the Narew River from Ostrolenka to Pultusk; west of the city between the Vistula and Rawa Rivers; and east of it, aiming at the railway from Ivangorod to Cholm. If the Russians fall back, their next natural line of defense will be the Bug River. An adoption of this position will mean the flattening of the entire Warsaw salient that pushes into the territory held by the Germans like a huge Slavic promontory. Provided the Germans take Warsaw, but miss the Russian army, it would be almost vain to pursue it farther, and the probable course of the Germans would be to dig themselves into positions across Russian Poland that could be held by a part of their forces, while the remainder of the men that have been used in this tremendous offensive could be sent to other fronts.

APATHY IN THE WEST

With Germany so busy in the east, it would seem to be the part of wisdom for the Allies in the west to make a serious attempt against the German trenches that must now be held by somewhat reduced forces. In fact, some Russian critics are complaining that the western Allies are not doing their share, that they are not properly reciprocating the kindness of Russia, which went at the Germans and Austrians hammer and tongs during the early crucial days of the war, when France was in great peril from the German rush. It will not do for the Allies to squabble over the division of the labor of beating Germany; but in far-off America, with midsummer come, it does seem as if it

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were time for a serious effort by Kitchener's vaunted million.

The only palpable assault during the week by the western Allies was made by the French in the Vosges near Metzeral, and that has not developed into a large-scale movement as we go to press.

Up to the same time the Italian claim of the evacuation of Gorizia by the Austrians had not been substantiated, but reports indicated the imminence of the fall of that stronghold, an event that would greatly facilitate the Italian campaign against Trieste.

BELGIUM AND SWITZERLAND

We do not realize that the destruction during the past year in Europe is primarily due to the fact that Belgium had not prepared against war as Switzerland had. In the current number of the "Metropolitan Magazine" ex-President Roosevelt does a service by calling general attention to this fact. He says:

> Belgium a year ago . . . was an absolutely peaceful and exceedingly prosperous country. She had a great industrial population. For many years the wiser among her people, including especially, by the way, the wisest representatives of the labor element, the Socialists, and others, had preached preparedness, so that the country might be saved from invasion by its great military neighbors. But her international policy was determined by the pacifists and peace-at-any-price men, the men and women who said that it was "immoral to fight" and that "war settled nothing," and the other men and women who said that nobody would ever attack Belgium because she was peaceful and never committed aggression, and that all that was necessary to national well-being was business prosperity and attention to measures of internal reform. These persons were successful in preventing any adequate preparation. Only a very inadequate one had been attempted, and that only during the last year or two. This inadequate preparation was directly responsible for disaster so overwhelming as to wipe out what had been built up by generations of patient industry.
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> Switzerland meanwhile, the most peaceful country in Europe, had energetically taken full measures for her self-defense. Switzerland had an army of 400,000 men, highly efficient. Belgium, according to her population, on the same basis would have had an army of 700,000 men. If she had had such an army and had acted precisely as Switzerland acted, Belgian territory would now be in Belgian hands, and the line of western war in Europe, representing what has been for ten months a stalemate, would have left Belgium on the right instead of on the wrong side; and she would have been free instead of trodden down and wasted under an appalling tyranny. . . .
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> The small Belgian army fought valiantly; the conduct of the Belgian people during the last eleven months has been above all praise; and they have rendered mankind their debtor by their heroism. But the heroism came too late to be of avail. It was too late to prepare, or to make good the lack of preparedness, when once the Germans crossed the border. Switzerland had prepared in advance, and Switzerland is at peace now, while the soil of Belgium has been trodden into bloody mire.

Mr. Roosevelt repeated this tribute to Switzerland at San Francisco when he addressed the greatest throng that ever listened to a speaker in that city:

> Switzerland is the most democratic of republics, and the least militaristic; and yet, relative to its size, it is the one best prepared against war. I firmly believe that there should be universal military service for our young men on the Swiss basis. In Switzerland the boys are trained during their last few years in the public schools, and after they graduate from the public schools they serve with the army for four or six months, and then for eight or ten days every year for the next ten years.

CHINAFYING THIS COUNTRY

Mr. Roosevelt's address at San Francisco was no political campaign speech, but a carefully prepared statement intended to "show up" to Americans the soothing belief of certain pacifists that, unarmed, the country's honor can be maintained. With the endeavor to introduce a non-resistance propaganda into our schools and colleges, it is appropriate that we should have a counter-irritant. It was applied by Mr. Roosevelt in a further comparison between two countries, the countries being America and China. He proceeded to deal vigorously with the attempt, as he described it, to "Chinafy this country."

While the best people in China are painfully endeavoring to raise the new China to a position of international aspect and of national self-respect, well-meaning people here are doing their best to reduce this country to the level of impotence to which old China has sunk.

When has the necessity for "preparedness against war"—to use Secretary Garrison's apt phrase—been more forcibly stated than in these words of Mr. Roosevelt?

> Preparedness against war does not invariably avert war any more than a fire department in a

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city will invariably avert a fire; and there are well-meaning foolish people who point out this fact as offering an excuse for unpreparedness.

Finally, and most important, let us remember that there can be no efficient preparedness against war unless we prepare our own selves. If we become soft and flabby physically and morally, we shall fail. No nation ever amounted to anything . . . if its sons did not have the fighting edge, if its women did not feel as the mothers of Washington's Continentals felt, as the mothers of the men who followed Grant and Lee felt. Men who are not ready to fight for the right are not fit to live in a free democracy.

As time goes on it will be impressively evident, we are sure, that these words were very necessary words to be uttered at the present time.

THE EASTLAND DISASTER

In the comment on the Chicago disaster of July 24, comparable only in its heart-rending distress and loss of life with the General Slocum, Titanic, and Lusitania horrors, one word constantly recurs—"needless." The disaster *was* needless. Whatever may be the result of the several official investigations, it is perfectly patent that the owners of the boat did know, or should have known (and this is one of the cases where ignorance is criminal), that it was unsafe to use that vessel in that way. No matter what licenses were held, how many people were allowed by law to embark, or what inspectors had certified, the mere fact that the Eastland could turn over on her side in quiet waters, at her dock, and instantly drown or suffocate many hundreds of people is incontestable evidence of culpable and deadly recklessness.

There is much to confirm the belief that the excessive instability was due to the letting out of water ballast in order to allow the boat to pass through the shallow water of the river, and that it was the practice to fill the water-tanks after she emerged into deep water. It is said that many boats do this, but with the Eastland the risk was frightful, especially as testimony increases that her reputation for stability was widely known to be bad. A special correspondent of The Outlook in Chicago, Mr. L. F. Wilson, who has had practical experience in the engine-room and knows steamboat conditions on the Great Lakes, writes as follows of the history of the Eastland:

Back in the fall of 1902 an order was placed with a Port Huron, Michigan, shipbuilding concern for a steamship which would carry 2,800 passengers and be speedy enough to "double" on the Chicago to South Haven run of approximately 85 miles in twenty-four hours (340 miles). Construction work on the Eastland was started on the following dimensions: Gross tonnage, 1,961; net tonnage, 1,218; length, 265 feet; beam, 38 feet; depth, 22 feet 8 inches.

Owing to the fact that a rival steamship was also building, the owners hastened the work on the Eastland, with the result that her trial trip developed many disappointing features. She did not come up to her contract speed of twenty miles per hour; she was unsteady in a sea, and there were many evidences of poor workmanship in the hull. A marine architect was employed to make necessary changes, and she was finally accepted and placed in service.

From the first her officers found that she must be handled very carefully. Her hull was light and her superstructure heavy (there were four decks). In order to cross the bar at South Haven it was necessary to empty the ballast tanks in the water bottoms. This was likewise done on entering the Chicago River. The upper decks were arranged for the cheapest excursion traffic. There were large spaces between deck-houses clear across the boat. These spaces were used for dancing and for cheap deck chairs and settees. This arrangement allowed for a rush of people from one side to the other when their attention was called to points of interest. It is said by persons who purport to have been passengers that one day while crossing the lake in a light sea she listed slightly and the people were ordered to the opposite side. Too many crossed over, and the boat heeled. Another order now sent the panic-stricken crowd to the other side, with like effect. Life-preservers were donned and many felt that the end had come, but a rapid filling of the ballast tanks, which had been emptied to lighten the boat for speed, resulted in finally restoring her equilibrium.

For some reason the boat went to Lake Erie in 1907, and her crankiness there resulted in the elimination of the top deck.

In the summer of 1914 she again made her appearance in Chicago Harbor and carried large crowds of pleasure-seekers in the excursion traffic. She was speedy, and for that reason was patronized by the lovers of cheap sport. Long and narrow, her two triple expansion engines and four large boilers were able to drive her up to twenty-three miles per hour, and she could pass nearly any boat on the lake.

The number of passengers allowed by the Eastland's license was about 2,500. It is said that a year ago it was 2,000, and that at Cleveland it was only 653. Why the change was made is a question which the

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inquest should answer. Meanwhile it may be pointed out that the facts of this disaster show the fallacy of allowing a very large number of passengers for short excursions on the theory that rescue is close at hand. If a thousand people perish at the dock, how many would be saved five miles out?

THE FACTS OF THE CALAMITY

The Indiana Transportation Company, which operates three steamers of its own, had entered into a contract with the Hawthorne Club, consisting of Western Electric Company employees, to transport 7,000 people to Michigan City, Indiana, to attend a picnic. The boats were to leave the river as loaded, and the Eastland was to be loaded first. Government checkers counted the passengers as they streamed across the gangplank. Many of the excursionists were acquainted, and large parties insisted on being on the same boat. Moreover, the Eastland was preferred, as she was known to be the fastest of the fleet. For these reasons it was hard to stop the flow of people when the limit was reached. If the limit was exceeded, which is in dispute, these facts may account for but not excuse it.

As the Eastland was starting she listed first one way and then the other. There may have been some movement of passengers to one side of the boat. Needless to say, on a seaworthy, stable boat no such movement should have had any serious effect. What followed is thus described by our Chicago correspondent above quoted:

> The steamer never stopped heeling after once well started. Without a sound or movement, with the captain still on the bridge, she increased her list until the people commenced to slide down the decks. Then a chorus of screams awakened everybody on or near the river to the situation. The big steamer turned clear over and rested on her side in nineteen feet of water (just half her beam). Those who were saved simply followed the turning of the boat by climbing over her rails and standing on the side of the molded hull. Not only did those who were on the port side go into the river, but hundreds who could not reach the starboard rail were shot down the vertical decks into the water. Those who were in the cabins on the lower sides were trapped, those on the upper were also trapped, but above water. Those in the cabins, extending the full beam of the boat, had little to hang to and were crushed in the panic or drowned. Those who were now standing upon the side of the vessel could not, for the first few seconds, be made to understand that the boat could sink no farther, and persisted in jumping into the river.
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> Within two minutes many water craft, the fire department, and the police were at rescue work. For the first half-hour the largest number of recovered persons alive and dead were hauled out of the river. After that the steamer itself gave up its victims. Holes were burned through the plates of the upturned hull by the oxy-acetylene process. This opened a way to the cabins, and many of the passengers were rescued in this way. By night on Saturday only about eight hundred persons were checked out alive, but there was no accurate count. Nine hundred and nineteen bodies were in the temporary morgues at this time, and there was no way of knowing how many people were in inaccessible locations.

The estimated loss of life three days after the calamity was from 1,200 to 1,500; over 1,000 bodies had been actually recovered, and there were then over 600 persons missing.

The Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, promises a thoroughgoing investigation. It ought to include a complete overhauling of the methods of inspection as well as of individual responsibility. The owners of a ship have a right to Governmental instruction as to what they may and what they may not do with her under different sets of circumstances. But they also are bound, apart from and beyond those instructions, by humane motives to know their own business and to let no motives of gain lead them to imperil life. We Americans are charged with lapsing from horror-stricken excitement immediately after such a disaster into tolerance with delay and with half-way reforms. The Eastland calamity should not be allowed to rest until guilt is fixed, punishment awarded, and practical, enforceable measures prescribed to make its recurrence impossible.

STRIKES AND RUMORS OF STRIKES

In some respects the strike situation in this country improved last week; in others it remained threatening. The condition which underlies the efforts of the unions to obtain better wages and better hours and further recognition is obvious. In certain industries the large war orders have caused increased activity; this has been reflected in the market price of the securities of these industrial companies. There has been much talk also of enormous profits, although those who know the facts fully recognize that there is another side to this, as the war orders have no per-

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manent or certain outlook for the future, and as, also, apart from immediate profits to certain industries, the orders represent payment for waste, not an increase in the country's wealth. Naturally the workers desire to share these new profits, and think the time opportune for forcing an issue by strikes if their end is not gained otherwise. In many cases, as in the Bridgeport labor contest, already noted, and in the great strikes in the oil industry at Bayonne, the employers have come to terms or have made promises, and disturbance and threats have subsided.

The Bayonne strike for a time was dangerous; the attacks of the mob on the properties of the companies were fiercely criminal. Pictures on another page show to what lengths violence was carried. That this violence was ended without the intervention of the militia was largely due to the extraordinary efforts and personality of the sheriff of Hudson County, Mr. Eugene F. Kinkead, who used every particle of authority he had, and perhaps a little more, in urging peace and enforcing order. He went unarmed among strikers and hired guards; made them lay down their arms; arrested those who refused to obey or who broke the law, from officers of the companies down to individual strikers; managed the excited men, most of them foreigners, many of them ignorant of the English language—all with a sort of friendly firmness which had remarkable effect. The fact that many of the foreign strikers called the sheriff "Kresni Ocec," or Godfather, throws an interesting light on his influence and methods.

Like the attack on strikers by armed guards at Roosevelt, New Jersey, some time ago, this Bayonne trouble anew, and for the hundredth time, enforces the principle that a State constabulary ought to exist to deal with just such matters. That armed guards hired by the corporations and acting for them should even for a day patrol the streets and order citizens about is intolerable and simply provocative of violence. The State, through its own officers, must control such situations. The necessity of a workable set of machinery for immediate arbitration is also shown in this strike. Apparently the difficulty has been adjusted by the sheriff and by mutual concession, but the lessons involved are none the less clear and forcible.

Up to the middle of last week the threatened strike of machinists and metal trade workers for an eight-hour day and higher wages, undoubtedly caused by the increase of war work, had not taken place. Reports indicated that the first strike in this industry was likely to take place with a Brooklyn concern, the E. W. Bliss Company, which does some work under contract for the United States Government, a fact which raises a question as to the bearing of the United States law prescribing an eight-hour day for Government work. If the men in this company and in another large company in Plainfield, New Jersey, go on strike, it is quite probable that this may be the beginning of a general strike among machinists and other skilled workers whose products relate to the war. On the other hand, an amicable adjustment is quite within the possibilities.

The question continues to be asked as to how far German or Austrian influence is responsible for these strikes. Doubtless wherever that influence can be applied to existing conditions by individuals it has been applied—in the Bayonne strike, for instance, one prominent figure was an Austrian who was in nowise connected with the work of the companies, nor was he a union leader. Other instances like this could be stated. It is not necessary, however, to infer that the industrial unrest and strikes have been planned by partisans in the war. The other considerations above adduced render such an inference needless, and a body of serious evidence to support it is not yet available.

BUILDING UP THE ORGANIZED MILITIA

In the illustrated section of this week's Outlook there are three pictures of vital significance to every American citizen. These three pictures show the organized militia at work.

It is no training-day frolic in which these men of New York and Massachusetts are engaged, for the maneuvers of the modern soldier represent as concentrated a form of mental and physical activity as can be obtained. One of the pictures shows mounted infantrymen of New York State engaged in a scouting expedition near the Fishkill plains. The second picture shows engineers engaged in constructing a pontoon bridge, an operation the speedy performance of which requires, not only knowledge, but long practice and rigorous discipline. Military bridge-building of this kind cannot wait on the convenience of contractors or the com-

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placence of municipal authorities. Upon the rapidity with which a bridge over an unfordable stream can be constructed may rest the safety of thousands of lives. The third picture shows coast artillerymen of the Massachusetts militia engaged in practice with the 12-inch mortars at Fort Andrew. For the private in the coast artillery successful work means the skill that comes with practice, strength, and discipline. For his officer, however, such target practice is a synonym for science and exhaustive education.

Only a full realization of the arduous training required for the business of soldiering can make Mr. Bryan's phrase concerning the million men that would spring to arms before the setting of the sun sound like the culpable absurdity that it is. Discipline and equipment are the two essentials of the modern soldier which cannot be brought into existence by the utterance of any number of smooth-sounding words.

Perhaps the most significant work that is being done to-day in the preparation of this country for the business of self-defense is being performed at the training camps for officers of volunteers which are being conducted both in the East and the West under the auspices of the War Department. This is the most forward-looking step that is being taken towards obtaining for this country a "citizenry trained and accustomed to arms." President Wilson, from whom this phrase is quoted, is now reported as taking a more sympathetic view of the position of those who are working for preparedness against war.

SIR JAMES MURRAY

By the death of Sir James Murray England loses one of her most distinguished scholars. Sir James was born in 1837 in Denholm, near Hawick, in Roxburghshire. He was educated at schools in Hawick and Edinburgh, and later at London University. His first position in the workaday world was that of foreign correspondent for the Oriental Bank of London. But academic life strongly tempted him, and six years later he became a master at Mill Hill School.

About this time, as a result of the appeal of Dean Trench, the author of a number of learned papers on the origin and development of the English language, a new dictionary was projected. The idea was taken up vigorously by the Philological Society of London, and a dictionary was planned on a colossal scale. Herbert Coleridge, the poet's great-great-nephew, was the first editor. He was succeeded by Dr. Furnivale, and when the latter died it looked as though the dictionary might be abandoned. It was then that Oxford University itself took up the work and called on James Murray to complete it. The choice was an appropriate one, as Murray had now become a famous philologist and was President of the Philological Society. With a corps of assistants he took entire charge, and by 1893 he had published two volumes covering the words from A to C. He was assisted by twenty to thirty editors who had been trained in the work, and also by several thousand volunteer assistants in various parts of England and other English-speaking countries, whose duty it was to read books for the purpose of hunting out unusual words and supplying quotations. Every English book published before 1500 A.D. was read, and every book of importance since that date.

The work grew so rapidly that Sir James went to Oxford to live. He settled down at Sunnyside, on the Banbury Road, not too far from the Bodleian Library, which was, of course, one of his greatest sources of information. A building was erected for the dictionary workers. Sir James called it "The Scriptorium." There, ranged like the case racks in a printing office, are hundreds of cases divided into pigeonholes, which refer to some work in the English language, and containing millions of slips upon which have been noted historical memoranda, quotations, and other material obtained by the regular or volunteer readers.

Sir James had almost completed his tenth and last volume, T to Z. For a long time his friends had queried whether his life might not come to its end before the dictionary did. The race has been a fine one and the dictionary has won—but only by a narrow margin.

THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC

A year ago last March The Outlook reported at some length the investigation of the George Junior Republic at Freeville, New York, by the State Board of Charities. Pursuant to the findings of this Board, it will be recalled that the trustees and the directors of the National Association of the George Junior Republics exonerated Mr. George of any conscious wrong-doing or of any moral delin-

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quency in his conduct of the affairs of the Republic, and voted their complete confidence in his moral integrity. Nevertheless, at that time, because of the notoriety of the trial, it was thought best that Mr. George should remove his residence from the grounds of the Freeville Republic, thus placating those who felt that his presence there was a detriment to the work, but that he should continue his activities as Director of the National Association. With this attitude on the part of the trustees The Outlook expressed hearty agreement. Mr. George voluntarily agreed to remove his residence from Freeville to the city of Ithaca, New York. This removal was made late in the summer of 1914.

It is more than interesting to note the effect of this change on the affairs of the Republic. The experiment was made in the hope that the removal of Mr. George from direct contact with the work at Freeville might restore public faith in the institution, whose reputation had been damaged by newspaper gossip about its founder. The result has been the failure of this very plausible theory, and the emphasizing of the real hold of Mr. George's picturesque and vivid personality upon the public mind. Instead of the disassociation of Mr. George with the Republic resulting in a restoration of public confidence and an increase in the number of citizens and in the amount of contributions, just the opposite occurred. In fact, the already seriously disorganized Republic dwindled until, by the 1st of October, 1914, there was but one citizen left and the contributions had entirely ceased.

A CHANGE IN POLICY

After reviewing this lamentable situation, the trustees called Mr. George before them and told him that the policy which they had pursued had proved unsuccessful, and that they were now willing, if he were willing, to try the experiment of placing him in absolute control of the situation, so that he might revive the institution if possible, and, if not, might assume the dismal responsibility of burying the corpse.

Mr. George accepted the offer of the Board to assume complete responsibility in the matter, and at once took charge of the Republic. Thirty days after Mr. George had thus taken charge of affairs the number of citizens had risen from one to thirty, and the contributions had begun to come in again, in spite of the depressed times. The expenses of the institution were radically reduced, with the result that the month of October was concluded, not only without the monthly deficit which had been contracted for years past, but with a few dollars balance. This improvement in the affairs of the Republic has steadily continued from that time, until there are now seventy-seven citizens enrolled in the Republic, and a record of eight months during which it has more nearly paid its way than ever before.

This unprecedented revival of an apparently hopelessly ruined institution has been furthered by the most loyal and wholehearted support on the part of the people living within a radius of thirty or forty miles of Freeville. The neighbors of the Republic have risen morally and financially to its defense and support. Dr. Andrew D. White, founder and former President of Cornell University, has accepted the chairmanship of what may be described as a vigilance committee, the purpose of which is to defend Mr. George and the Republic in future from such a partisan and prejudiced investigation as was carried out by the State Board of Charities less than two years ago. As a further safeguard the Board of Trustees of the Republic will, in the future, refuse to accept State wards as citizens.

The rehabilitation of the George Junior Republic was fittingly celebrated in Freeville on July 10, the twentieth anniversary of its founding, with athletic games and an entertainment furnished by the citizens. Some sixty or seventy ex-citizens returned for the jubilation and to listen to addresses by Dr. Andrew D. White and Judge Ben B. Lindsey. It is to be hoped that the sanguine expectation of Mr. George and the trustees of the Republic will be fulfilled. The Republic idea in education is founded on mutual trust and an impelling personality. With either element lacking, it has a hard road to travel. It is a matter of congratulation that, not only the personality of Mr. George, but trust in his leadership as well, has been restored to the Freeville Republic.

EDUCATION IN TURKEY

The reports of commencement days at American educational institutions in the Orient naturally arrive a considerable time after the event. This would be true in any case, but it is specially true in these days of war.

The report on Commencement Day at

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Constantinople College, better known as the American College for Girls, in the capital of the Turkish Empire, is just at hand, and is of special interest because we are apt to think that there has been a smothering of all educational institutions in Turkey, and, in particular, that Constantinople is now so inclosed and occupied by military forces as to leave little chance for the ordinary events of the day and year to occur. But this has not been true of Constantinople College. On June 11 its Commencement occurred, and was a brilliant occasion notwithstanding the difficulties of the past year—or possibly as a result of having surmounted many of them! Nineteen girls were graduated, and it is interesting to note their nationalities—seven Bulgarians, six Armenians, two Turks, two Greeks, one Albanian, and one American. The audience comprised representatives of all the nationalities of the land.

A distinguishing feature of the day was the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Laws upon the Hon. Henry Morgenthau, American Ambassador to Turkey. We learn that as Mr. Morgenthau received his degree the enthusiasm reached great height, as he is extremely popular with all the different peoples of the Near East. One of the secrets of his success as a leader in these times of crisis is his sincere friendship for all peoples, and his real desire to help any persons, no matter what their race, who are suffering in consequence of the war or for any other reasons. The spirit of mutual confidence which he has thus created has been a strong force in Constantinople and has made the successful continuance of the College possible during the present war. Such a career honors the Washington Administration, and will stand out nobly in the history of the American diplomatic service.

Speaking of education in Turkey, we should chronicle the apparently strange but immensely gratifying fact that, despite the hardships of the past year, education for Mohammedan women has made a distinct advance. They have been admitted officially to the Turkish Imperial University and several hundred women have attended courses there. Those who could pass the necessary examinations were enrolled as regular students, and others who could not were permitted to enter the classes as visiting members. Surely, in view of the above, it will not do to be hopeless about the future of Turkey.

SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS

In the minds of many observers, both teachers and pupils in our schools are suffering from too many text-books. Certain it is that the teacher is apt to rely far too much on the text-book and to supplement a lack of natural teaching aptitude by a kind of wooden adherence to what somebody else says in a volume prepared for the purpose. As to the child, the outcome of a non-appeal to natural individual cleverness is apparent, and the result is lazy and unindividual children. But children need some text-books—that is evident. How shall they be supplied in our public schools?

Hitherto they have been paid for mostly by the children's parents. Aside from those municipalities which provide text-books, for a long time there has been a growing feeling, especially in the West, that the State should supply text-books, and in two States, California and Kansas, this is now being done. One reason why other States have not adopted the plan is because the introduction of free text-books would add to the cost of the public school system, and thus increase the rate of taxation for school purposes.

California has been printing all the elementary text-books used in the State for approximately thirty years. Until 1913 the books were sold at cost to the pupils or to their parents. Legislation was then enacted requiring them to be furnished free. Some persons who have investigated the California situation are doubtful whether or not the plan is economical. The State Superintendent believes that it results in a saving of about twenty-five per cent of the cost of the books per year; other authorities in the State claim that there is no absolute saving when the quality of the books and the quality of the material used in making them is considered.

Kansas is printing only a very few text-books, but will print all text-books used in elementary schools as rapidly as present contracts with publishers terminate. The Kansas law providing for printing books for public school children was passed two years ago, and the first books were printed in the summer of 1914.

THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION'S INVESTIGATION

The Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior has recently made an

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interesting investigation, obtaining data from forty-three text-book publishers who control probably ninety-nine per cent of the text-book sales in this country. The aggregate total sales for text-books for public and private schools in 1913 reported by these publishers amounted to over $17,200,000, of which the amount for public schools, elementary and high, was over $14,200,000. As the total enrollment in public, elementary, and high schools for the year was about 18,600,000, deducting the California enrollment (California being the only State in that year which printed its own books), the number is about 18,200,000. The total annual sale of text-books for each child enrolled in the public schools of this country becomes, therefore, 78.3 cents.

For all school purposes the annual total expenditure for each child is approximately $38.31. Thus the cost of text-books is about two per cent of the total cost of maintenance. On the school population basis, the cost per child is 56.6 cents, however, thus making the annual per capita cost of text-books on the total population basis less than 15 cents.

Such figures would indicate that there is little ground for the fear that the introduction of free text-books, whether printed by the State or furnished by publishers, would add much to the cost of the public school system. They will add still less when text-books are used only because a more direct method cannot be used!

THE GARY PLAN

The name Gary was made known first by the man who has directed the policy and management of the United States Steel Corporation. Second, it is known as that of the new and important steel manufacturing town in Indiana near Chicago. And now, third, it is becoming still more widely known as the place in which a very successful plan in education originated. The plan greatly increases the efficiency of educational equipment. It involves a school day of eight hours instead of five, and six days a week instead of five. This time is given up to teaching, vocational training, ethical guidance, and play, and all is done without excess cost of plant by means of alternating classes, moving from one place to another for study, work, and exercise.

Hence, for the same school curriculum as at present, many more pupils can be accommodated. Such a plan, adapted to a community like the Borough of the Bronx in New York City, for instance, where there are thirty-six thousand children of school age and yet where there is accommodation for only twenty-five thousand, would enable the work to be done without additional school buildings and without the additional expense of operation. Not long ago The Outlook gave a description from a special correspondent of the gratifying results of the application of the Gary plan to a Bronx school.

What is necessary to the plan, however, is the additional facilities involved in the building of libraries, gymnasiums, auditoriums, shops, swimming-pools, and playgrounds, At Gary the playgrounds, swimming-pools, and gymnasiums are open on Sunday, as well as other days, and so keep the children off the streets. Five out of every eight Gary schools also open their playgrounds in the evening, with a consequent beneficial effect on the community's general health.

Moreover, five-eighths of the Gary day schools have evening academic instruction, and three-eighths are open for evening shop instruction. What is more, they have the kind of equipment necessary for the training of adult workers, as is seen from the fact that sixty per cent of the men and boys enrolled are over sixteen years old and are working during the day.

Such a plan appeals to the children. It appeals to their parents, too. It means: no more congested classes; an opportunity to the child to choose and begin a vocation while still in school; finally, recreation recognized as a part of life.

A NATIONAL MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

Paying for admission to lectures on Christian missions, as people have lately begun to do, is a new thing under the sun. It is the latest of many signs of a growing public interest in an enterprise that has given luster to the name of America in far-off lands.

A date to reckon from is the Ecumenical Missionary Conference of 1900 in New York City, the effect of which was more than doubled by that of 1910 in Edinburgh. These were influential in broadening the missionary idea and motive from that of saving individual souls to that of making Christian nations. Amid new and great opportunities missionary enterprises have grown to such dimensions since this century began that a

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pan-denominational organization was found necessary to cope with its exigencies.

In 1906 the Laymen's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada was formed, to "bring the laymen of all churches together on a common platform to consider the whole problem of Christianity in the world and plan for its solution." In 1909–10 it held seventy-five conventions throughout the country, with an average of one thousand registered delegates to each. Culminating in a National Congress at Chicago, it effected large results, but, while eleven denominational laymen's movements have been at work in the United States and Canada, the opportunities for extension increased faster than the resources of the missionary agencies.

Consequently a second National campaign has been planned for 1915–16, from October till April, concluding with a National Congress at Washington. During most of this period two or three conventions will be held simultaneously in different parts of the country, employing several teams of speakers, the ablest representatives of missionary work, home and foreign, and of effective church activity. To these great meetings all the churches are urged to send their best men as delegates. In the organization and conduct of this campaign every important missionary agency in the country is co-operating, and Convention committees have been organized and are now forming. After each Convention an executive secretary will remain on the field to direct a well-planned work of conservation and extension. This promising campaign is to open at Boston and Chicago simultaneously, October 14–17.

ART AND THE EXPRESS COMPANIES

In The Outlook of June 16 we pointed out that the new law with regard to the valuation of baggage on railways was causing a great deal of annoyance and discomfort to passengers. The purpose of the law, which went into effect on June 1, was to make common carriers responsible for the full value of the property carried by them; but, as we pointed out before, Congress, as in the case of the Income Tax Law, seems to have been negligent in not foreseeing the confusion which has resulted from the enactment of this piece of legislation. Undoubtedly the intention of those who framed the law was to benefit the shipper by making the express companies responsible for shipments; but the result has been that the shipper is no longer able to assume responsibility and relieve the express company of liability even if he desires, and is obliged to pay exorbitant insurance against the risk of the express company's own negligence.

A new and more serious aspect of the Cummins Amendment, as interpreted by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, has been brought to our attention by the American Federation of Arts. According to this interpretation, paintings and sculptures shipped by express hereafter must be fully valued by the shipper before shipment and transportation charges paid thereon in advance.

"The rate of transportation authorized by the Inter-State Commerce Commission on such shipments is exorbitant," says Miss Leila Mechlin, secretary of the American Federation of Arts, "and this ruling, therefore, will practically put an end to the sending about of traveling exhibitions of works of art, and will thereby restrict, retard, and finally prevent the upbuilding of art collections and art museums throughout the country. For example, I find, through conference with the express companies, that if we were to send an exhibition of oil paintings from Washington to New York and return we should be obliged to pay the express company, over and above the actual cost of transportation, $298 and some cents for insurance on additional valuation. If the collection were sent beyond Chicago, this rate would be much increased, and if it were to go to the Pacific coast it would be almost doubled."

Miss Mechlin goes on to say that it has been the policy of the Federation to cover all traveling exhibitions with a blanket insurance policy "at a rate for the entire circuit, covering a period of about six months, not much in advance of what the express companies will now legitimately charge for insurance merely in transportation for one short haul and return. In other words, on a traveling exhibition shown in six cities the excessive cost over and above the present cost would amount to over $1,800. Obviously, this would put an end to the sending about of exhibitions."

It is a strange and sad fact that, while one purpose of the amendment was obviously to prevent cruelty to animals in the shipment of live stock in closed boxes, for some unaccountable reason it has been made to refer

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especially to paintings and sculpture, the form of receipt required by the express company of a shipper stating in unequivocal language that the receipt is intended for those who ship "live stock (horses, jacks, mules), paintings, and sculpture."

Of course the value of paintings is not always easy to fix, but if the selling price of a picture is $10,000 and the shipper values it at $5,000 or $6,000, the shipper as well as the express company is liable to a penalty of $5,000.

Congress has bungled in the passage of this law, and the sooner the tangle is unraveled the better for art, for the traveling public, and for the self-respect of American legislators.

THE REVOLUTION IN HAITI

The assassination of President Vilbrun Guillaume, of Haiti, at Port-au-Prince on July 28 was an atrocious piece of mob violence. It involves questions of international importance, because the President had taken refuge in the French Legation, whence he was dragged by the mob and shot down before its very doors. The day before the revolutionists had partly destroyed the executive mansion, and then the President's life had been saved only by the French Minister's urgent efforts, while one of Guillaume's chief supporters, General Oscar, was killed by the bloodthirsty mob. It is said that after the murder of President Guillaume his body was dragged through the streets. On the other hand, Guillaume or Oscar had ordered the execution of ex-President Zamor and scores of political prisoners. The scenes as described in the despatches recall the worst excesses of the French Revolution. An American war-vessel was sent to Port-au-Prince from Cape Haitien, where it had already landed marines. As we write it seems certain that rigorous measures of repression will be needed to protect life and establish order.

It is reported that one reason of the recent fierceness of factional fighting in Haiti has been the belief that, because of the European war, interference from abroad was not feared, and this may also account for the disregard of the French Minister's rights. It is for the United States to show that it has the power and the will to preserve the peace on this side of the Atlantic against savagery and endless revolution and counter-revolution.

A BALANCE-SHEET

It is one year since Germany began war upon Russia, France, and England and so initiated the present European conflict. Three years before, General von Bernhardi, in his volume "Germany and the Next War," had declared the objects which Germany must by war secure. With commendable, if audacious, frankness General von Bernhardi rebuked the peaceful aspirations of his countrymen and sought to stir within them the military spirit. War he declared to be "a biological, a moral, and a Christian necessity," and absolutely essential to Germany if Germany would accomplish the results which her history, her character, and her position demanded of her.

What were those results; what the objects which, as thus defined by General von Bernhardi, Germany was called upon to accomplish?

She must protect her borders from "the Slavonic races which are ever dashing against her coasts." It is true that "Russia at present has no inducement to seek an aggressive war with Germany or to take part in war," but she will always be on the side of those who try to cross Germany's political paths. Germany must not wait for Russian aggression.

It is, however, upon France that Germany's attack must first be made. "France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across our path."

France is depicted by General von Bernhardi as Germany's chief rival: she "has created for herself the second largest colonial empire in the world," something which the conqueror of Gravelotte and the Sedan ought not to allow. Germany must win on the battlefield of Europe colonies for her surplus population, that she may retain for Germany that strength of the German nation which has been pouring into foreign countries and lost to the Fatherland.

By conquest she must also win new territory for that population. In Europe? He does not say; but this is the necessary implication.

For the same reason Germany must extend her commerce to lands beyond the seas. Her native population cannot consume all the products of her native industries. Those industries depend, therefore, on exportation.

War is a duty which Germany owes to the world. She is the greatest nation on the globe; her people are the most civilized, cultured, and efficient people. This superiority

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imposes upon her the obligation to make herself the world's leader, that she may impose her culture upon other nations.

War is a duty Germany owes to herself. By war she must unite her disunited population and recover for the nation that unity which is lamentably lacking in the German Empire.

Thus war is for Germany a necessity. She has no option. She must choose between world power and downfall.

To these objects, thus avowed by one of the foremost German advocates of the war, there must be added two, interpreted by other representatives, and still more forcibly by deeds.

Though she had few oversea possessions to defend, she wished a navy which would rival that of Great Britain, who was under obligation to defend Canada, Australia, India, and Egypt.

And when Austria tried, condemned, and resolved to execute sentence upon Servia, accused of complicity in the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince, Germany sustained Austria in her refusal to seek what Servia proposed, and England, Italy, France, and Russia urged a conference of the European Powers in order to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issues involved.

Twelve months of war on land and sea have now passed. How much of these objects has Germany accomplished?

Germany's ally and partner, Austria-Hungary, has punished Servia, but not without suffering herself from famine, war, and pestilence. At this writing it is not believed that a single Austrian soldier is to be found on Servian soil, and if the war should end to-day the question of Servia's guilt and her relations to Austria would be settled, as Servia before the war proposed they should be settled, by a conference of the Great Powers.

Germany has injured France; has destroyed some of her finest buildings; devastated some of her fairest districts; taken and still is taking the coal and iron from her most valuable mines. But she has not crushed France. On the contrary, France has gained in moral force more than she has lost in material wealth, and is to-day a stronger Power, more to be reckoned with in European politics than at any time since the overthrow of the Empire in 1870.

Germany has successfully protected her borders from the Slavonic invasion. She has won two decisive victories—one over unprepared but plucky little Belgium in the west; the other over hirsute but ill-prepared Russia in the east.

And this is all.

Germany has won no colonies for her surplus population. On the contrary, of her eleven colonies only two remain under her flag—Kamerun and East Africa—and these, deprived of their colonial comrades, can hardly long defend themselves against the allied forces.

Germany occupies Belgium; but Belgium, which is the richest country in Europe in proportion to its size, is also the most densely populated and can furnish no homes for Germany's surplus population.

Germany's commerce is for the time utterly destroyed. She has no ships upon the ocean; none afloat save an inconspicuous merchant marine in the Baltic Sea. Her two great harbors, Hamburg and Bremen, are hermetically sealed—as useless to her as the harbors of Ephesus and Rhodes are to Greece.

Germany has inflicted some injury on English commerce by a successfully managed but unscrupulously conducted submarine warfare. This warfare has been dramatic, but it has occupied a far larger place in the columns of the daily press than it will ever occupy in the commercial history of the world. Germany is reported to have sunk 218 British ships all told, including fishing boats, during the first eleven months of the war; while during the same time it is estimated that between 60,000 and 70,000 sailings of seagoing ships have taken place in British waters. Less than one per cent of British commerce destroyed has neither military, political, nor economic significance.

These figures indicate how slight has been the effect of Germany's blockade upon England. Two apparently well-authenticated facts indicate how effective has been England's blockade of Germany. In May, 1915, American exports to Germany aggregated $400 in value; in May, 1914, over $14,000,000 in value. In England there is no appreciable lack of food supply. An apparently well-informed Hungarian correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor" reports official figures showing that staple articles of food are selling in Hungary at prices varying from three to seven times the ruling prices before the war.

The German fleet, built up at such expense and with such feverish haste, is shut up in enforced retirement, where for the purpose

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of winning for Germany her coveted world power it is of as little use as was the French fleet of Villeneuve after the Battle of Trafalgar.

Germany has lost Italy as her ally and gained Turkey—a poor exchange. Her attempt, through Turkey, upon England's occupation of Egypt and her endeavor to add the horrors of a religious world war to those of a European war have failed. The Suez Canal still affords a safe passage to the East, the British flag still floats unvexed over Egypt, and Great Britain's Mohammedan population is still loyal.

What has been done to secure to Germany that leadership among the nations which Bernhardi declared belonged to her?

Thirteen months ago her literature, her music, and her philosophy were the admiration of artists and scholars. "Made in Germany" was a recommendation to her manufactures in every market of the world. By this war she has made enemies of the civilized world and for the time being closed the hearts and minds of the neutral peoples to her present thought almost as effectually as she has closed the doors of their ports to her goods.

Has war united the German people? Has it obliterated the once-widening gulf between the Social-Democrats and the landed aristocracy? With the rights of free press, free speech, and free assembling denied, and dissent from the war party in Germany almost as effectually suppressed as was dissent from the ecclesiastical party in Spain in the sixteenth century, it is difficult to give an answer to this question.

In such a case silence does not give consent. But the little that creeps through the crevices of the closed doors to other countries furnishes indications ominous to the future unity and internal peace of the German Empire. The publication in Switzerland of a vigorous indictment of the war party by a German; the publication, also in Switzerland, of a protest by Social-Democrats; the refusal of one-third of the Socialist members present in the Reichstag and of nearly one-third of the Socialist members who might have been present to vote financial support to the Kaiser; the unanimous refusal of the same party to co-operate in the support of the Government in the Landtag; the public utterances against the war in "Vorwärts," the Socialist organ; the open controversy of Admiral von Truppel and the organ of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg with von Tirpitz, Grand-Admiral of the German fleet, concerning the submarine policy; the reported visits of German bankers to the Emperor to warn him of the peril of the possible bankruptcy of the Empire—all indicate, not a growing unity, but a growing lack of unity in the German Empire.

Our readers can form their own judgment from this balance-sheet. Our judgment is that Germany has accomplished by the war only one thing which she set out to accomplish: she has protected her territory from a Slavonic invasion—an invasion which she herself invited. We believe that she would be very glad now to make peace by restoring the conditions which existed before the war, if that were possible. But it is not possible. She cannot rebuild the ancient buildings which she has destroyed, nor restore the fair fields which she has devastated, nor bring back to life the dead; and probably the war which she provoked must go on, not until Germany is destroyed, but until her military party is overthrown, a constitutional Germany supplants an autocratic Germany, a Ministry is created responsible not to the Emperor but to the people, and thus Germany receives from the hands of her beneficent enemies that charter of liberty which the unsuccessful revolutionists of 1848 endeavored in vain to win for her.

ANOTHER NOTE

On February 4 Germany gave notice that she intended to attack peaceful merchant ships of the enemy without warning, and that neutrals must beware.

On February 10 the United States told Germany that if, as a result of this lawless practice thus threatened, an American ship or American lives were lost on the high seas, the Government of the United States "would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability."

On May 7 a German submarine, in accordance with Germany's threat, and in disregard of our warning that we should hold Germany to a "strict accountability" for such an act, sank the Lusitania and killed over a hundred Americans.

On May 13 we sent one note to Germany on the subject, on June 11 another, and on July 21, two months and a half after the Lusitania went down, we sent a third. The third note, which is printed in full on another page

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in this issue, closed with a statement that if Germany did again what she had done, the United States would regard the act as "deliberately unfriendly."

We should like to submit to our readers the question whether this course is holding Germany to a "strict accountability." A threat or warning is a form of promise. A wise man never promises what he cannot or does not fulfill, never makes a threat which he does not carry out, never issues a warning which he does not enforce. Germany made her threat, and she carried it out. We issued our warning. Have we enforced it? The most we have done is to issue another warning. Has the American Government given any reason to Germany for believing that America means what she says on July 21 any more seriously than on February 10?

Because its language is somewhat blunter than its predecessors, this note of July 21 on the Lusitania massacre has been widely regarded, not only in the United States, but in other countries, including Germany, as the strongest and firmest of the series. This fact is a cause for relief in the minds of all loyal Americans. When principles of humanity are at stake, something is gained if only in language there is no yielding. And there has been an opportunity to yield. This must be taken in consideration in judging the significance of the note.

Germany proposed that America yield, not only her own rights on the seas, but the right of all non-combatants, in exchange for a guarantee of safety. There were some voices raised in favor of accepting such a compromise with tyranny and lawless autocracy. Americans may well be grateful that their Government has refused to listen to these voices and has rejected the German proposals.

German newspapers and public men, though not the German Government, have demanded that America, in proof of her impartiality, should be as emphatic and uncompromising in protesting against Great Britain's alleged violations of international law through her blockade as against Germany's attacks on non-combatants. There have been voices raised in favor of this demand. To have acquiesced in it would have been to place Germany's acts on a level with Great Britain's acts. If Great Britain has violated international law in her blockade, it has been in matters concerning property. Germany, on the other hand, has violated international law by deliberate sacrifice of human life. The questions raised by Great Britain's blockade are analogous to those which in domestic affairs are settled by civil suit. The questions raised by Germany's attacks on peaceful merchant vessels are analogous to those which in domestic affairs are decided by criminal action. To treat Great Britain as we are called upon to treat Germany would be to reduce human life to the level of the dollar, to let a case of murder be settled by damages, to transfer all international law to the sordid basis of bargain. In this matter the American Government has, to the relief of all loyal Americans, remained unshaken. It has refused to listen to these voices, some of them accustomed to denouncing the practice of reducing the man to the level of property, and of measuring life by dollar signs, and it has insisted that questions of humanity cannot be confused in any such way.

So, though the United States may not yet have done what a really strong nation might have done, neither has it done what a weak nation would do.

And still the question is unsettled. Two recent incidents in Germany's submarine warfare show how unsettled it is. On July 9 a German submarine, without warning, fired upon the British passenger ship Orduna. By good fortune, coupled with good seamanship on the part of the Orduna's captain, the shots failed to take effect, and the Orduna, with American passengers aboard, escaped. It was not due to any intent on Germany's part that the Lusitania massacre was not repeated. This happened while the United States was exchanging notes with Germany. Was not the firing on the Orduna as truly an unfriendly act as if the shots had gone home? A few days later a submarine held up an American steamship, the Leelanaw, boarded her, took off her crew, and, because she was alleged to be carrying contraband and could not be taken to a German port and there was no time to throw overboard her cargo, sank her. It may be that this act of the submarine was in violation of international law and specifically of our treaty with Prussia, but it was not in violation of humanity. There is no reason why the Leelanaw case cannot be settled as a civil suit is settled, by a suitable tribunal. It is a question of damages if it is a question at all. Here is a German submarine case that can be put into the same category with the British

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cases. The Leelanaw case shows what Germany can do if she wills; the Orduna case shows what she still wills to do.

There is no reason to believe that Germany is going to abandon her attacks on peaceful merchantmen. The next time in such lawless and inhumane warfare she offends against the United States our Government should not speak; it should act.

The latest American note is of such a character that it can really be answered only by Germany's deeds; it is by deeds, too, that the United States should hereafter express its purpose and intent.

We have already repeatedly said that action in that case would not necessarily be war, and we have pointed out forms of action which could be taken—commercial non-intercourse, political non-intercourse, or open and declared abandonment of the restraints of neutrality—until Germany should abandon her lawless practice, make what reparation she could, and guarantee for the future her observance of the primary obligations of humanity.

THE UNITED STATES AND SANTO DOMINGO

Because of long-continued delay the scandal arising from the maladministration of America's trusteeship in Santo Domingo has largely been forgotten by the public. After a report by a special investigator selected by the President, James M. Sullivan, United States Minister to Santo Domingo, has resigned, and his resignation has been accepted. This event has made little public impression, and for the time being the Administration which was responsible for this scandalous state of affairs has escaped the criticism it has deserved. By this fact there is danger that public opinion may not hold the Administration to such an account that it will be driven to make reparation for the damage which it allowed to be done, not only to Santo Domingo, but to the reputation and honor of the United States.

The story in its outline can be briefly told. Santo Domingo, like other turbulent and ill-governed countries, was in grave trouble because of debt. Foreign governments demanded payment. The situation was of concern to the United States because we in the New World want no new increase of territory held by European Powers on this side of the Atlantic. Santo Domingo appealed to the United States for help. As a result, by agreement confirmed by formal convention in 1907, we undertook to take their custom-houses in charge and to collect the customs revenues. Out of the collections we undertook to pay installments of Santo Domingo's debts and turn the rest over to the Dominican Government. This we did. In consequence Santo Domingo's creditors were satisfied by our payments on the debt, and Santo Domingo herself out of the balance received more than she had ever received before. When the new Administration came in, Mr. Bryan, the Secretary of State, saw in this arrangement of trusteeship a chance, not for serving Santo Domingo, but for political advantage, and he decided to use the posts there to "reward deserving Democrats." A new Minister was sent who was entirely incompetent, and the customs receivership, through which our trusteeship was administered, was demoralized. It was as heinous an offense against public morals as could well be committed without open infraction of the law. When the facts came out in the newspapers, the President appointed Senator-elect Phelan, of California, to investigate. His findings have now been made public, and have been issued by the State Department. Senator Phelan finds that the duties resting upon the Minister to Santo Domingo are "unusual and even unique;" that there could scarcely have been any general expectation that the training, education, and experience of James M. Sullivan could have fitted him for a successful administration; that his candidacy for the post was supported by "persons having large financial interests in Santo Domingo, with the intention and in the hope of securing pecuniary profit through the incumbency in office of a Minister who was friendly and under obligation;" that there was no evidence that Minister Sullivan received any money from any contractor or other person desiring favors in Santo Domingo; that his attitude toward the Banco Nacional and his hostility toward other banks, and other actions and reports of his, including violation of departmental instructions, lost him the confidence of the Dominican people; and therefore Senator Phelan recommended that his resignation be accepted, and, if it should not be proffered, that he be recalled.

This report deals only with the Minister to Santo Domingo, which is a concern of the Department of State. It does not deal with

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the customs receivership. Information in our possession, based on Governmental reports, indicates clearly that that customs receivership has been badly handled, and that the old standards which prevailed when it was established have not been observed. Will the American people allow this affair to end here, or will they insist that the United States be as honest with a weak and dependent people as a court of law holds a trustee to be in his dealings with his wards? We congratulate Senator Phelan on his courage and directness and on the successful result of his investigation. We congratulate the Department of State under its present Secretary on its acceptance of Senator Phelan's report and on the action taken upon it. It is important, however, that publicity should not stop here. The relation of the United States as trustee to Santo Domingo is a continuing relation, and the American people should demand that what is done under that relationship should be done openly as well as honestly.

When the Panama Canal was started, it was necessary to establish sanitary conditions; but it would have been fatal to the enterprise if those sanitary conditions had not been maintained. What is needed in the administration of American affairs in Santo Domingo is a sanitary squad that will not only re-establish moral sanitation there, but also see that the morals of that receivership shall not again become corrupted.

FREE VERSE

The insurmountable obstacle which confronts most of those who are attempting to free verse by writing free verse is that verse is already free. In the preface to an anthology of "Some Imagist Poets," recently published by Houghton Mifflin Company, there is this statement of faith: "We do not insist upon free verse as the only method of writing poetry. We fight for it, as for a principle of liberty. We believe that the individuality of a poet may often be better expressed in free verse than in conventional forms. In poetry a new cadence means a new idea. . . . The subject of free verse is too complicated to be discussed here. We may say, briefly, that we attach the term to all that increasing amount of writing whose cadence is more marked, more definite, and closer knit than that of prose, but which is not so violently nor so obviously accentuated as the so-called regular verse." With all due respect to the excellent poetic material contained in the volume which follows this introduction, it may be said that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and that the poets who have expressed their faith by this pronunciamento, part of which we have quoted, have not markedly succeeded in compelling acceptance to the belief that freedom from verbal restraint is synonymous with true liberty of poetic utterance and thought.

If a poet is to fight for free verse as for a principle of liberty, he must show that his so-called freedom from the restraint of convention has accomplished some definite end. It is necessary for the poet who claims that his individuality can be best expressed in free verse to first prove that he has some individuality to express. It is not any passionate desire for a new liberty against which we are protesting, but a general inability on the part of most writers of free verse to distinguish between the constructive convention of form and the destructive convention of license. The man who protests against the wearing of shirts because they are conventional, and then attempts to set up a convention of shirtlessness, is no friend of common sense. If he can prove that shirtlessness is the true end of man, all well and good. Until he has so demonstrated, however, we prefer our present convention of convenience.

All this is entirely aside from the merits of free verse as a method of expression. It would be foolish to deny that some poetry of surpassing worth has been written in the less formal manner. It would be impossible to deny that much free verse contains a rhythm and a cadence that are both effective in the excitation of emotion and as a vehicle for the conveyance of thought. It would be equally foolish to deny that much of what currently passes for free verse is at best little more than the raw material of poetry, that its formlessness results from laziness rather than imagination, and that its span of life will be as brief as its rhythm is breathless. Perhaps the use of the phrase "raw material" is suggestive of the true significance of most free verse. It brings to mind the perhaps too complimentary thought that the average writer of free verse, like nature, is dealing only with elements. Now nature, in her most impressive mood, builds mountains and not mole-hills. Both mountains and mole-hills are made from dirt. It certainly takes a mountain of a man to build a truly impressive structure from the essential form-

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lessness of free verse. For every Whitman busying his cosmic fingers in the myriad details of life upon this planet there are untold regiments of little men burrowing an inch or two under the surface of existence and mistaking the trembling of their molish structures for the thunder of the earthquake.

In this anthology of imagist poets, from the Introduction to which we have already quoted, there are many verses worthy of thoughtful consideration, and there are many others which will be readily accepted as proof that their authors have mistaken a manner of expression for originality and inspiration. Nor are there many poems which have not lost much from lack of form, and there are few in which the lack of definite rhythmical cadence is justified by the effect. There is, unfortunately, a straining after newness, momentarily interesting, to be sure, but it is an effort, we are convinced, which will not lift these or similar poems and their writers to any considerable eminence when viewed against the inevitable background of eight centuries of English literature.

"My thoughts
Chink against my ribs
And roll about like silver hailstones.
I should like to spill them out,
And pour them, all shining,
Over you.
But my heart is shut upon them
And holds them straitly.

Come, You! and open my heart;
That my thoughts torment me no longer,
But glitter in your hair."

To all writers of free verse who desire a key to similar treasure-chests of thought we suggest a judicious application of those principles of rhythm and verse structure that have proved as eternally sound as anything in this mortal world. The tom-tom and the war drum are elemental in cadence, but they contain hints which may be followed with profit by even the most sophisticated of our modern poets.

THE OUTLOOK STANDS CORRECTED

Some time since The Outlook inferentially voiced its belief that there were more important problems awaiting the solution of the American Republic than the question as to whether the rite of naming our battle-ships should be performed with water or with wine. We even went so far as to suggest that prohibitionists, instead of repining, should rejoice whenever a ship slipped down the ways at the urging—if not under the influence—of a bottle of champagne.

When we said, however, that because "a bottle smashed on the bow of a battle-ship is one bottle that can never be drunk, such an event ought to be regarded as another blow to the consumption of liquor," we were apparently dealing with matters we were not competent to discuss. To borrow a phrase from Milton, we have been told in effect that "these matters are not for pragmaticks and folkmooters to babble in." We were, it seems, too practical-minded to catch the ultimate significance of the custom to the defense of which we so thoughtlessly sprang. We accept without reservation the following official explanation of the true inwardness of the situation. It comes to us from the press bureau of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union:

Consider the root meaning of the word *christening*. One of the dictionary definitions of *to christen* is: "to name, as a ship, by a ceremony likened to baptism." Always baptism in the Christian economy has been with water. If in days gone by spirituous liquors were supposed to give long life and to bring good luck, the revelations of science have thoroughly exploded that theory. Water is a symbol of life; alcohol, a symbol of disease, destruction, and death, the enemy of life and of efficiency; hence the christening of any ship with champagne is an absurdity and an anachronism.

In accepting this explanation *in toto* we desire, however, to call to the attention of our readers an opportunity for National cooperation which is fast slipping from our grasp. Last year there was consumed within the United States somewhere in the neighborhood of fifty million gallons of wine. Multiplying this by four, we have a grand total of two hundred million quarts. A quart of wine, we are confident most naval constructors will agree with us, is quite adequate to name even the largest passenger steamer or battle-ship. Now, if all these two hundred million quarts could be properly utilized in accordance with The Outlook's original project for the furtherance of temperance, it is quite evident that we should at once solve three of the most pressing problems which confront this country. In brief, we should abolish a large share of the liquor traffic and should at the same time secure both an adequate

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navy and an adequate merchant marine. General Goethals, we are sure, could be counted upon to take command of the work of dredging the resultant broken glass from our harbors. We trust this suggestion will be received in the spirit in which it is made.

A YEAR OF WAR: A MILITARY REVIEW[1]

WE are too close to the events of the first year of the conflict that from sheer magnitude seems destined to be known as the World War to view them in true perspective. Some occurrences that still seem important time will prove unimportant, some that to-day perhaps seem trivial will be red-inked in history. Looking back over the first year of the struggle that may prove of greater ultimate determinative influence on man's career on this planet than even the Crusades, the Reformation, or the French Revolution, we must try to adjust our focus to that of a historian fifty years hence. In 1965, were one asked to write an article for The Outlook on the military and political events in Europe from August, 1914, to August, 1915, if limited to the space to which I am limited, perhaps one might write somewhat as follows:

The first year of the Great War falls properly into two phases. The first was marked by the development, the test, and the failure of the German plan of world dominion. The second was marked by the development of the campaign of attrition which the rather unprepared Allies brought to bear against Germany, once the first great engulfing rush of the Teutons—who had been primed to the second for this war—had been stopped and turned back from the Marne to the Aisne. The launching of several serious German efforts after the Marne, like the heavy blows on the Yser and at Ypres, the advance on Antwerp, the three drives at Warsaw, and the comparative success of some of them, may make this division of the first year of war seem arbitrary and false. But the fact remains that on the Marne was sounded the death-knell to German hopes of world power. After that, as the number and the strength of the Allies increased, Germany was more and more on the defensive. She was like a swordsman, back to a wall, surrounded by several adversaries. Some of her lunges went home and cut deep, but after the Marne her hope was mainly to disable enough of her adversaries to induce them all to draw off and leave her with the booty of her first *coup* rather than seriously to try further for the establishment of a Teutonic Europe.

The part which the unready but heroic army of little Belgium played in the great drama that began with the shots of the first German guns at Liège on August 4, 1914, the world will never forget. The Belgians, who had something of a reputation as a nation of shrewd bankers and complacent burghers, showed that under their prosaic modern exteriors lived the spirit of the Greeks under Leonidas, of the Swiss with Arnold von Winkelried, and of the minute-men of Lexington and Bunker Hill. The rôle that Horatius played to Rome Belgium played to Europe. She held the bridge into France long enough to permit France and England to mobilize in force sufficient to make possible the triumph twenty-six miles from the gates of Paris when the dreams of another would-be world conqueror faded like the smoke of his guns against the sky. Called to the field from the ballroom in all the gaudiness of their dress uniforms, as the English were called to Waterloo, the Belgians made their border, and not northern France, the first front of the war, gave the first gay army of British regulars time to march up the Continent to the tune of "Tipperary," and, after the loss of Liège, Brussels, Namur, and most of the area and wealth of their land, from a corner of their country on the coast, King Albert's men plucked at the Kaiser's arm and partly blocked the blows it rained on France.

Great retreats are rarer than great assaults. Napoleon knew how to retreat, so did Frederick the Great, and the withdrawal of the Russians before Napoleon in his disastrous Moscow campaign and before Hindenburg and Mackensen in their Galician drive in the spring of 1915 were both masterly retirements. No commander, however, has ever gained so much reputation by a retro-

[1] An editorial entitled "A Balance-Sheet," on another page, interprets the facts here stated.

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gression as Joffre deservedly won for his carefully thought out rearwards movement which reached its limit in early September at Senlis, where the Leaguers were defeated in 1589. The German advance before which the scattered Allies retreated was over ground steeped in the romantic atmosphere of history. Waterloo; St. Quentin, where General von Goeben beat the French force of General Faidherbe in 1871; Crécy, famous for what English bowmen did there; Malplaquet, where lie the dust of some thirty thousand brave fellows who fell in battle when Prince Eugène and the Duke of Marlborough triumphed over Marshal Villars; Craonne, where Napoleon won his last victory before the First Empire crumbled; Compiègne, where the English captured Joan of Arc in 1430; and Quatre-Bras, where the Duke of Wellington repulsed Marshal Ney before Waterloo, were some of the towns trampled by the feet of Germans in their smoke-gray war garb, sunburned British regulars, and French lads wearing their outrageous pantaloons of crimson. Also, Valmy, where, Carlyle tells us, the French Sansculottes "did not fly like poultry" before the Duke of Brunswick's Prussians, and Chalons-sur-Marne, where the predecessors of the men who saved the world from Prussianism saved it centuries before from the pagan grasp of Attila, the Hun. While the Germans advanced over this ground Joffre fell back, till, on September 6, as if the ghosts of the French patriots whose graves he had crossed came to help him save France, with superhuman strength he turned and threw back the invaders, till the whole German force precipitantly, but in good order, was obliged to retire to the Aisne. General Joffre had had the courage to retreat rather than risk a hazardous battle on unchosen ground—the French people to a man had placed their confidence in him—and the Marne was a modern Marathon, the triumph of a determined nation in arms.

The world did not realize at the time the true importance of this battle; but as the weeks passed, as the attempts of the Germans in October to get to the French Channel ports past the Allies at the Yser and at Ypres were blocked by the Belgians and by the British respectively, until the lines of armed men settled into parallel ruts from Switzerland to the Channel that hardly changed from middle November through the end of the first year of the war, the significance of the Marne dawned upon the minds of men. Not a Waterloo, for it did not mark the end of William II's power as Waterloo marked the end of Napoleon's, it was yet a Marathon, a Châlons, a Tours. It was the sixteenth decisive battle of the world.

The remaining eleven months of the year, which all fall under the second phase of the war, are hard to summarize. To a near-sighted person it may have seemed that Germany was still on the offensive. The victories of Hindenburg and Mackensen at Tannenberg, Lodz, the Masurian Lakes, Przemysl, and Lemberg, their quick marches and counter-marches over the rolling plains of Russian Poland and Galicia, and through difficult East Prussia, with its chain of lakes, frog ponds, and marshes, were feats that stamped these two men as worthy to stand with Joffre and Nicholas, Russia's towering Grand Duke, as the four great commanders developed by the first twelvemonth of war. But their victories, like the German triumphs at Antwerp, St. Mihiel, and Soissons, like the great Carpathian drive of the Russians, the victory of the British at Neuve Chapelle, and the brilliant feats of the French in the declivitous Vosges, were, after all, only local in importance. Germany was aggressive, but she was not on the offensive. From the time of General von Kluck's bloody retreat across the fair, sloping country of the Aisne Germany was a nation at bay, shoutingly defiant, magnificently capable, but nevertheless at bay, with her dreams of conquest shattered. She was a country besieged, and her assaults in east and west were properly sorties from siege, spectacular but indecisive, because not once did they seriously cripple one of the nations against her.

In the meantime the fever of war, like some dire contagious plague, had seized one nation after another. Japan, late in August, saw a chance to solidify herself in the East, the proper zone for her ambitions, and an opportunity to pay off an old score which had stood against Germany since the latter had blocked her from the fruits of her war with China in 1895. Using her alliance with Great Britain as a pretext to declare war on Germany, she began in August to close in on Kiaochau, a heavily fortified port on the coast of the Yellow Sea, Germany's only foothold in the Far East. Then, while the attention of the world was held to the larger drama in Europe, began a siege that

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brought out for any one who cared to look the fine things in the German character. By this time it was plain that, however monstrous the scheme of the German war party, the people, united, felt that they were fighting a just war of self-defense. At Kiaochau German merchants and commercial traveling men, rather than seek refuge in neutral China before the steadily advancing peril, stood to their guns with the meager garrison to the inevitable end. America, who has her Alamo and her Richmond, Russia with her Sebastopol and Port Arthur, England with her Khartum, and France with the splendid memory of Paris in 1871, cannot afford to forget to admire Germany for her Kiaochau.

Neither can they forget to condemn her for the unscrupulous machinations that brought into the war the barbarous Turk, whose part was largely to persecute and slay Christians in Armenia and Persia, and who would have slain thousands for every one that actually died had not the Holy War that Germany planned against Christians in the name of the Kaiser's god gone glimmering like German hopes in France. The Balkan question and the relation of Turkey thereto, which had been the underlying cause of the Great War, as of the Balkan War and the Crimean War before it, was easily made by the German statesmen who dominated the Porte a lever to push the Islamic Power into the place in the Triple Alliance left vacant by recalcitrant Italy. Even so, a large element in Turkey held back from a war the flames of which they felt would scorch the very dome of St. Sophia and erase the Crescent from Europe forever. But the wiles of Enver Pasha, who had won prestige by the recapture of Adrianople during the second Balkan War, and the astuteness of Generals Liman von Sanders and von der Goltz, the Kaiser's agents at Constantinople, prevailed. Flying the flag of Islam, but with their German crews still at their guns, the German war-ships Goeben and Breslau, which had sought refuge in the Golden Horn during the first weeks of war, on October 29 bombarded Odessa and Theodosia on Russia's Black Sea coast, and the Sick Man of Europe was committed to the war.

His part in it, after the perpetration of atrocities against the Christians of Armenia and feeble Persia, and after the failure of an abortive expedition against Egypt, and the crushing defeat in Caucasian snows on the border of the romantic old Kingdom of Georgia of the Turkish army that had tried to distract Russia's attention from Poland and Galicia, was played mainly at the Dardanelles, the gate between Europe and Asia, a region redolent of mythology and history. Here, under German officers, the soldiers of the Sultan at the beginning of August, 1915, were still holding the Gallipoli Peninsula against the expeditionary force of British and French soldiers who trod where the invading hosts of fabled Agamemnon, mighty Xerxes, Alexander the Great, and the indomitable Mohammed II trod before them. At the Dardanelles the Turk proved that, whatever the quality of his intelligence may be, his bravery is second to no man's, and here the vain attempts of the Allies' ships to force the straits apparently proved the impossibility of doing against modern mines and torpedoes what Farragut did at Mobile Bay and what Dewey did at Manila.

Turkey's participation was followed by that of Italy, the last to enter of the eleven nations that were fighting at the end of the twelve months. In addition to Italy's sympathy with those fighting the battle of democracy against autocracy was her desire to possess the Trentino and the Gorizia, to obtain autonomy for Trieste and Istria, and to make of the Adriatic an Italian sea. A step toward the realization of the last aim was taken on October 30, seven months before Italy finally declared war on Austria, when Italian marines were landed at Avlona, lying on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and dominating its entrance.

Before the war many German statesmen had realized the insecurity of any dependence on the peninsular kingdom as a member of the Triple Alliance, but they hoped at least for Italian neutrality. That Italy maintained her non-belligerent character as long as she did was largely due to the devastating effect of a great earthquake, to the anti-war propaganda of a steadily decreasing number of Socialists and of personal followers of ex-Premier Giolitti, and to the determination of the wiser leaders of the war party to be fully prepared for all buffetings that could be foreseen before plunging into the whirlpool of war. The value of Italy's belligerency would have been greater if it had come earlier, at the psychological moment in April when the Czar's hosts were balancing on the great Carpathian divide, with only a little added momentum needed to carry them coasting across the

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Hungarian plain—an event that might have brought the lesser Teutonic nation to her knees. As it was, Italy came in when Russia was falling back, and, although Austria did not at once divert a large force to meet the new peril on her southern border, as the Allies had hoped she would, the end of the year found Italy, after several weeks of mountain fighting as picturesque as anything in Hannibal's Pyrenean campaign, holding several square miles of the Austrian Tyrol and of Hapsburg territory along the Isonzo, but still without the long-coveted cities of Trent and Trieste.

But what of the sea? "Germany's future lies on the sea," the Kaiser had said, and the power of the British fleet had been considered by Russia and France the principal contribution which England could make to the cause of the Allies. What had the German officers made of the "Day" which had been their toast through long years of boastful expectancy while the German navy was growing from nothing to second rank among all the navies of the world? Before many months were out it was evident that the "Day" for a stand-up fight between the German and British dreadnoughts had not come, and that Bernhardi was right when he said that the naval superiority of England "will be so great that we cannot hope for a long time to be able to take the offensive against the English fleet." Except when it stumbled upon a weaker force of the enemy, as in the case of Admiral von Spee's meeting with a British cruiser division off Coronel, when the Monmouth and Good Hope were sunk, the ships of the German navy only fought when forced to, as in the case of the end of Spee off the Falkland Islands and the meeting of British and German battle-cruiser and destroyer divisions in the North Sea in January. Invariably in these encounters victory was to the side with the heavier and greater number of guns, and, with the fortunes of naval war thus reduced to a mathematical certainty, Germany wisely followed Bernhardi's advice and kept her dreadnoughts safe in her own waters, while she sought to reduce the British fleet by mine and submarine. In this she was not successful. At the end of the first year of war England had lost eight battle-ships, which was at least two less than she had built during the twelvemonth.

This foredoomed failure of Germany's maritime war of attrition against her particularly hated foe began to be apparent toward the end of the first six months of war. By that time, too, it was painfully plain to Germany that sea power, which had won the American Civil War, the Russo-Japanese War, the Spanish-American War, and which had been the millstone which finally broke Napoleon's strength, was the greatest factor in the balance against the Fatherland. By the end of the first week of war German commerce had been cleared from the Seven Seas, and gradually the few swift commerce-raiders, like the Eitel Friedrich, the Königsberg, and the daring Emden, whose story will live while men love brave deeds and the tang of salt, were being run down and captured or destroyed. Then, with its customary foresight and efficiency, the German Government seized all the grain of the country, taking no chances against future food shortages which the British control of the sea might entail. This act, however, gave the British Government an excuse to increase the advantage it was getting from its naval supremacy by declaring contraband all grain bound for Germany—this commodity, under international law, being seizable only when destined for the military or official use of an enemy nation.

Then, in retaliation, Germany resorted to an expedient which was a radical reversion from established methods of warfare. She announced that the waters surrounding the British Isles were a war zone, that after February 18 her submarines in these waters would wage war, not only on the war-ships of her enemies, but on their merchant shipping as well, and if accidentally the merchant ships of neutral nations were injured within these waters Germany would not consider herself responsible.

The world stood aghast at this ruthless programme. In France and in Belgium German armies had perpetrated atrocities upon defenseless non-combatants, not only in the natural heat and passion of war, but as part of a deliberate policy of frightfulness. Since the birth of international law, however, non-combatants on merchant vessels at sea had been held free from attack by nations who made any claims to civilization. It was inconceivable that Germany would execute her threats. But she did, and the consternation of the neutral world turned to rage. The sinking of freight and passenger vessels, with the loss of civilian lives, reached the apex of horror when the giant Lusitania,

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shattered by German torpedoes, plunged to the bottom off the Irish coast, sucking down in the whirlpool above her 1,100 persons, more than one hundred of them citizens of the United States. As a military expedient Germany's submarine blockade was not very successful, only a very small fraction of British shipping falling prey to the Teutons' sea cobras. But above every other feature of the most remarkable war in recorded history this warfare of German submarines on merchant vessels, involving, as it did, the abandonment, the radical readjustment, or the reaffirmance of international law on the broad basis of humanity upon which it had rested almost since the Vikings, was outstanding as the year closed with the United States at loggerheads with Germany on the question of the use of submarines—not very far from steps that it seemed might make her the twelfth nation in this war of the world.

As we come back to the present, from the point fifty years ahead from which we have been trying to focus our view of the war, it is natural to dwell upon certain purely physical and scientific features of the war that are bound to loom large before the backward gaze of posterity.

In the first place, stands out the vastly increased importance of artillery. A free people armed mainly with small arms can no longer hope to vanquish a tyrannical power well provided with artillery, as the American colonists with their flint-lock muskets held off the British regulars in our War of Independence. The Boer War and the Russo-Japanese War brought out the importance of artillery as an aid to infantry, but in this war it has been shown that men afoot cannot hope to take an intrenched position till it has been showered with shrapnel and blasted with explosive shell.

In the second place, judging from the lessons of this war, it would not be surprising if a portable machine gun, light enough to be fired from the shoulder, should be developed to supplant the magazine rifle almost entirely. At any rate, for repelling assaults on intrenched positions the superiority of one machine gun to three or four rifles has been well established.

The development of trench-fighting will stand out above all other military features of this war except the use of submarines and aircraft. As far back as the Duke of Wellington's Peninsula campaign the value of trenches was appreciated. Grant made good use of them before Richmond, and the cover afforded by them was invaluable to the Japanese in their war with Russia; but never before 1914 was a war conducted so largely below the surface of the earth. It would not be surprising if the next war should be waged entirely in the air and underground—a struggle of bats and moles, as weird as anything pictured by Jules Verne.

Cavalry has been of little use in the war of the eleven nations. Aeroplanes have made cavalry useless for surprise attacks or to screen the movements of infantry and artillery. The inferiority of forts to modern artillery is the lesson of Liège, Namur, and Przemysl; but, on the other hand, the futility of naval attacks on forts on high ground armed with big guns seems to be pointed out by the Dardanelles campaign.

The aeroplane has proved invaluable for scouting and has revolutionized warfare, in that it has made surprise attacks almost impossible; and the combats of armed aeroplanes, if not of great military importance, are one of the mind-staggering features that make this war unique. But, after a year of fighting, the dirigible air-ship, both rigid and non-rigid, has yet to prove its case, and on the evidence thus far there is little to recommend the construction of one of these sky dreadnoughts when several aeroplanes can be built for the same price.

Aside from considerations of morality and humanity, the use of gas in warfare cannot be overlooked. Its military value is still doubtful; it is not easily controlled, often blowing back upon the army that is using it, and the protections against it adopted by the French and British seem to have worked well.

Nothing so fiendishly *outré* as the German chlorine artillery has ever been seen in warfare, however, the nearest approach to it being the stinkpots of the Chinese and the Greek fire—a composition of sulphur, naphtha, and quicklime which the Byzantine Greeks are believed to have thrown through siphons upon the heads of the attackers of Constantinople at some of the sieges of that ancient city.

Armor, which gunpowder drove into disuse, bids fair to come into some favor again. The French are reported to have adopted helmets of the strongest steel for protection against bullets in the trenches, and some military experts are arguing that a few pieces

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of finely tempered armor worn over vital parts, like the heart and abdomen, would greatly reduce the mortality among regiments charging on a foe in trenches. Thus the age-long struggle continues between the makers of missile weapons and the makers of protection against them, between the offense and the defense.

England is experimenting on a protection against torpedoes, and it would not be surprising if something were found to rob the submarine of much of its terror. A weapon of offense is never long in use before some one devises a check against it. Moreover, while the feats of submarines, their great cruising radius, and their seaworthiness have been remarkable, it is not true, as some enthusiasts allege, that the under-sea boats have driven dreadnoughts to the scrap-heap. It, however, is not beyond the realm of probability that dreadnoughts and the present type of submarines will both be modified until we have large submersible battle-ships prowling the oceans, and sea fighting becomes as largely under water as land fighting is underground.

The most interesting comment from an American public man on inferences that may be drawn from twelve months of the European war is that which appeared in a letter to the New York "Times" and the Boston "Herald" from Charles W. Eliot, Emeritus President of Harvard University. In a long and comprehensive survey of the war he says:

> Whoever studies the events of the past year with some knowledge of political philosophy and history, and with the love of his neighhor in his heart, will discover, amid the horrors of the time and its moral chaos, three hopeful leadings for humanitarian effort, each involving a great constructive invention. He will see that humanity needs supremely a sanction for international law, rescue from alcoholism, and a sound basis for just and unselfish human relations in the great industries, and particularly in the machinery industries. The war has brought out all three of these needs with terrible force and vividness. Somehow they must be met, if the white race is to succeed in "the pursuit of happiness," or even to hold the gains already made.

If the war should bring about the establishment of an international tribunal or World Supreme Court which should give a real sanction to international law, should rescue the world from alcoholism, and should settle the deep and bitter conflict between labor and capital, it would give to future generations a blessing worth all it has cost to this generation. GREGORY MASON.

THE AMERICAN NOTE OF JULY 21

THE following is the complete text of the new American note to Germany, omitting the few words of formal introduction. It is dated July 21 and is signed "Lansing." Editorial comment is made on another page:

The note of the Imperial German Government dated the 8th of July, 1915, has received the careful consideration of the Government of the United States, and it regrets to be obliged to say that it has found it very unsatisfactory, because it fails to meet the real differences between the two Governments and indicates no way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied in the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles, which virtually set them aside.

The Government of the United States notes with satisfaction that the Imperial German Government recognizes without reservation the validity of the principles insisted on in the several communications which this Government has addressed to the Imperial German Government with regard to its announcement of a war zone and the use of submarines against merchantmen on the high seas—the principle that the high seas are free, that the character and cargo of a merchantman must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed, and that the lives of non-combatants may in no case be put in jeopardy unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination; for a belligerent act of retaliation is *per se* an act beyond the law and the defense of an act as retaliatory is an admission that it is illegal.

The Government of the United States,

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however, is keenly disappointed to find that the German Imperial Government regards itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe these principles, even where neutral vessels are concerned, by what it believes the policy and practice of the Government of Great Britain to be in the present war with regard to neutral commerce. The Imperial German Government will readily understand that the Government of the United States cannot discuss the policy of the Government of Great Britain with regard to neutral trade except with that Government itself, and that it must regard the conduct of other belligerent Governments as irrelevant to any discussion with the Imperial German Government of what this Government regards as grave and unjustifiable violations of the rights of American citizens by German naval commanders.

Illegal and inhuman acts, however justifiable they may be thought to be against an enemy who is believed to have acted in contravention of law and humanity, are manifestly indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights, particularly when they violate the right to life itself. If a belligerent cannot retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals as well as their property, humanity as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral Powers should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in, it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offense against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected.

The Government of the United States is not unmindful of the extraordinary conditions created by this war or of the radical alterations of circumstance and method of attack produced by the use of instrumentalities of naval warfare which the nations of the world cannot have had in view when the existing rules of international law were formulated, and it is ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea; but it cannot consent to abate any essential or fundamental right of its people because of a mere alteration of circumstance.

The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstances to them.

The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterized the activity of the Imperial German naval commanders within the so-called war zone in substantial accord with the accepted practices of regulated warfare. The whole world has looked with interest and increasing satisfaction at the demonstration of that possibility by German naval commanders. It is manifestly possible, therefore, to lift the whole practice of submarine attack above the criticism which it has aroused and remove the chief causes of offense.

In view of the admission of illegality made by the Imperial Government when it pleaded the right of retaliation in defense of its acts, and in view of the manifest possibility of conforming to the established rules of naval warfare, the Government of the United States cannot believe that the Imperial Government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander in sinking the Lusitania or from offering reparation for the American lives lost, so far as reparation can be made for a needless destruction of human life by an illegal act.

The Government of the United States, while not indifferent to the friendly spirit in which it is made, cannot accept the suggestion of the Imperial German Government that certain vessels be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack and would be a curtailment and therefore an abandonment of the principles for which this Government contends and which in times of calmer counsels every nation would concede as of course.

The Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government are contending for the same great object, have long stood together in urging the very principles upon which the Government of the United States now so solemnly insists. They are both contending for the freedom of the seas. The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom, from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost.

It invites the practical co-operation of the Imperial German Government at this time when co-operation may accomplish most and this great common object be most strikingly and effectively achieved.

The Imperial German Government expresses the hope that this object may be in

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some measure accomplished even before the present war ends. It can be. The Government of the United States not only feels obliged to insist upon it by whomsoever violated or ignored in the protection of its own citizens, but is also deeply interested in seeing it made practicable between the belligerents themselves, and holds itself ready at any time to act as the common friend who may be privileged to suggest a way.

In the meantime the very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and Government of the German nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter.

Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

THE LATEST AMERICAN NOTE

A POLL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

GERMANY

"THERE is no reason to try to discover perfume between the thorns in the American note to console ourselves," remarks Theodor Wolff, editor-in-chief of the "Berliner Tageblatt"—perhaps the best-known paper in the German capital—in commenting on the American note to Germany. He continues: "The American Government demands that its citizens travel in safety in war time where and when they please. If they sit on a powder-cask, any one lighting a cigar in their vicinity would be guilty of an unfriendly act."

In the same spirit the "Neueste Nachrichten," of Leipsic, says:

Even if the world is to be smashed to bits, we cannot hinder President Wilson from thinking as he does, nor can he stop us effectively from doing what is needed to defend our life as a nation. President Wilson leaves the final decision of this momentous problem to the fate of the first American globe-trotter who fancies he wants some war sensations and travels in the war zone.

The best-known paper along the lower Rhine is, doubtless, the "Kölnische Zeitung." Its attitude has been growing increasingly and offensively truculent. It asserts:

Germany will neither disavow the sinking of the Lusitania nor offer indemnification for the lives of the reckless Americans who perished on the steamer. Germany will continue her submarine warfare in the same manner as in the past two months. She will continue to show consideration toward American ships and passengers, and will hope, naturally, that developments will not lead to a breach of relations with the United States.

According to the "Vossische Zeitung," of Berlin, the refusal to accept Germany's practical proposal to protect American passengers shows an absolute lack of readiness to understand the German standpoint. The "Vossische" thus lays down the law of Prussian militarism, in which we italicize one sentence:

The principle that belligerent states must protect neutrals is untenable if applied in the fullest sense, as it would mean abdication to neutral states. It is true that belligerents must respect neutral rights, but only provided neutrals do everything to prevent their citizens getting into situations where protection is impossible. *Victory over the enemy is the supreme law for every belligerent.*

More mildly the Berlin "Morgen Post" affirms:

The opinion is held here that, not only neutrals have rights, but so also has a great people engaged in a fight for existence. Every understanding which will permit an effective conduct of the submarine war we shall of course embrace with pleasure, and we shall continue to value our friendly relations with the United States in the future as in the past—but not at any price. There is a boundary to the concessions we can make. This boundary is Germany's self-respect and self-preservation.

Along the middle Rhine the "Frankfurter Zeitung" is probably the most widely read. Despite its radical tone, it also holds that Germany cannot make disavowal of, or give

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compensation for, the sinking of the Lusitania. The reasons, as set forth, are:

First, because it would shift the blame to the shoulders of the brave officer who acted according to orders; and, second, because payment of compensation would be misinterpreted as recognition that Germany was in the wrong.

The concluding "deliberately unfriendly" phrase of the American note is described as "an earnest declaration whose significance and possible consequence are not open to doubt, but which cannot terrify us." The "Frankfurter Zeitung," however, says that the last word has not been spoken, and expresses the hope that it is still possible to reach an understanding.

That doughty organ of the Prussian militarists, the Berlin "Kreuz Zeitung," says:

We are trying hard to resist the thought that the United States, with its standpoint as expressed in the note, aims at supporting England. But we confess the contents of the note are hardly understandable from any other viewpoint.

The organ of the bankers and merchants, the Berlin "Börsen Zeitung," also says of the note that "one cannot escape feeling that the shadow of England stands behind it."

Even Eugen Zimmermann, the general director of the "Lokalanzeiger," and recently very prominent because of his open criticisms of the extreme militarists, thus gives expression to the same feeling:

President Wilson invites the German Government to common efforts for freedom of the seas, and Germany certainly will not refuse this nor any other negotiation consistent with its dignity and interests. Germany first, however, would like to advise Mr. Wilson to determine England's position as regards his plans in order that no unwelcome nullification of his work result.

FRANCE

"The monotony of a long dialogue which has lasted for months between Germany and the United States," says the Paris "Gaulois," "has been lighted up for the first time by a grave and firm note, in which is affirmed, without bluster, but with a conscious power, the determination of a great Nation no longer to let itself be scoffed at by diplomacy based on expedients." In the same spirit another Paris paper, the "Petit Parisien," says: "The blow has fallen. Hereafter it is by deeds that the Washington Cabinet will judge the German naval policy." This paper, praising President Wilson's judicial turn of mind, compares the time it took Germany to reply to the second American note with the time required by President Wilson in preparing his latest communication:

The Berlin Chancellery tried to complicate the problem. It misled discussion into sidepaths and raised every opportunity for a complementary question. President Wilson restates the naked proposition: Does the German Admiralty, responsible for the Lusitania crime, intend to renounce the destruction of neutral vessels with human beings aboard? Yes or no. If yes, it should say so; if no, any future transgression will precipitate a rupture of German-American relations.

ENGLAND

The comment of the London "Times" is as follows:

President Wilson cannot regret a single one of his missionary endeavors. If he has now behind him a virtually united people, it is because his fellow-countrymen recognize that he has done and said nothing to bring on and everything to avert a crisis, and that no word or act of his can be pointed to as tainted with provocation or lacking in essentials of a humane, charitable, and pacific spirit.

The responsibilities of an American President in such an emergency as this are very great. We do not know when they have been discharged with more skill or dignity or self-restraint than by Mr. Wilson. Americans will await the upshot with a clear conscience and a united front.

The London "Morning Post" says:

The language employed by Lansing is unmistakable. Any repetition of German invasions of neutral rights will be regarded by the United States Government as "deliberately unfriendly." What the United States Government proposes to do should Germany again disregard the plain warning it is not the business of this country to inquire.

The London "Standard" remarks:

It piques British curiosity to hear that there is a conviction in America that what is called "freedom of the seas" can be attained with German co-operation during the present war. Does this point to a renewal of bargaining on terms with Germany to stop the torpedoing of ships at sight, and England to allow neutral ships to reach German ports without let or hindrance? If so, it must again be said that this country cannot be blackmailed by any acts of frightfulness into signing away any of the legitimate advantages of sea power.

There is a good deal in this part of the note which has not been adequately pondered by those who are merely anxious to read into

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the document resentment and defiance of Germany.

This declaration, says the "Daily Mail," "is addressed to-day to Wilhelmstrasse, but Downing Street, in its treatment of neutral commerce, may well heed it."

The Manchester "Guardian" puts it thus: "In President Wilson's opinion this country [England] is an offender against the principle of the freedom of the seas," and adds that the note "may well occasion some very serious reflections" in England.

AMERICA

"With courage and with firmness President Wilson and Secretary Lansing have responded to the hopes and the deep convictions of the American people," declares the New York "Times." "Friendly and persuasive in tone, admirable in expression, unanswerable in its logic, the note puts an end to all quibbling in the future," remarks the Baltimore "Sun." "The American position is clear, courageous, and consistent. It rises above the morass of detail. It contains none of the refinements of dialectics," avers the Brooklyn "Citizen." "No American Administration in sympathy with the Nation's history, policy, and traditions could do less and none could have done better or more tactfully what it was necessary to do," says the New Orleans "Times-Picayune." Practically all American newspapers coincide in these judgments.

"There can be no misunderstanding of this note," thinks the St. Louis "Globe-Democrat:"

It is as plain as a pikestaff. It at once brushes aside all irrelevant controversy and rests its case upon the simple and righteous principle asserted in the first note and reaffirmed in the second—the inalienable rights of the high seas. That principle, as we have previously pointed out, is as important to Germany as to us. Reverse the conditions and Germany would take the same position as we do now. So would England, so would France, so would any nation having interests on the seas and that was not wholly invertebrate.

Is it an ultimatum? No, according to the Hartford "Courant," which adds:

It has not the slightest appearance of an ultimatum. It contains no threat and suggests no penalty. It is a polite appeal to friendship and a suggestion that we have the law on our side, whether we have the means and disposition to enforce the law or not. The latest note is much more mild than the first. After reading the closing paragraph of the note, published this morning, we are compelled to conclude that the closing paragraph of the first note meant nothing whatever to those who wrote it.

The Pittsburgh "Gazette-Times" also says:

There is no finality to the note, neither threat nor ultimatum, but Germany is told in so many words that further offending will be estimated as "deliberately unfriendly," and this to be interpreted only as implying that the time for some act more serious than any word of protest will have arrived.

The Burlington "Free Press" thus discriminates:

We are told by the manifestly inspired correspondents in Washington that the latest note to Germany is not an "ultimatum." At the same time the Germans can gain the idea from what is said that if there is another tragedy like that of the Lusitania, involving the loss of American lives, diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany will cease. . . . That is so close an approximation to an ultimatum that the ordinary investigator will experience difficulty in distinguishing the difference with the naked eye.

"I'm not arguin' with you; I'm tellin' you," declared the humorist, as quoted by the Sioux Falls "Argus-Leader," in illustrating its editorial entitled "An American Ultimatum." "If not an ultimatum in form, it is an ultimatum in fact," adds the Chicago "Tribune."

GERMAN-AMERICAN OPINION

Concerning so-called German-American opinion, we select two typical quotations from the papers published in the German language in this country. The "New Yorker Herold's" comment on the President's note to Germany is in part as follows:

While Mr. Wilson's note abounds in strong expressions against Germany's attitude in the rights of neutrals, and while it declares that "repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly," we are certain that the complications will be settled amicably. Mr. Wilson has yielded one important point. He fails to reiterate the demand that Germany should give a definite promise regarding the submarine war. Before that he had yielded the "strict accountability" postulate. In his first note after the declaration of the war zone the President by using this word intimated that the loss of American lives would be followed by grave events. The President has

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yielded to some extent, and so will undoubtedly Germany.

More militant is this startling excerpt from the Chicago "Illinois Staats-Zeitung:"

Germany can never submit to the tone of it [the note] and will, as much as we are sorry for it, find no other answer to it but the breaking off of diplomatic relations.

We as well as the German Government know fully that with such a step she fulfills, not only the wish of this Government, but also that of England, and will create a very painful situation for the German-Americans. Every fair-minded man will nevertheless understand and appreciate that Germany has offered to the American Government the broadest possibilities for an agreement and the avoidance of every danger for American travelers in spite of the hostile attitude of the press and unneutral neutrality of the Government.

Germany has to consider its own dignity and its duties in this war. The President claims the German answer is unsatisfactory and does not settle the controversy. He claims he can only confer with England about English affairs. Germany will justly deny the President's right to confer with Germany about English ships, much less make threatening demands on Germany.

Germany will answer that the President has lost right to the claim of humanity in consequence of the one-sided war material shipments. Our Government has a bad intention in demanding safety for hostile ships if Americans are on board. It would be more easy for Americans to keep off such ships than for Germany to permit ships to carry war material to England. The note shows that the President at all hazards will break with Germany. He should first ask the people of the United States if they are satisfied to be driven into war. The note is unworthy of the Republic. We hope that Germany will not blame the people for the present Government's action.

The St. Louis "Republic" pays its respects to the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung" as follows:

How long will loyal and patriotic American citizens of German-American birth and lineage sit silent under the misrepresentation of a certain portion of the German-American press?

The traitorous and slanderous attacks upon the Government of the United States contained in two German-American papers of importance should be severely rebuked, and rebuked by Germans in the communities of their origin. One is the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung," the other is the "Westliche Post."

The "Staats-Zeitung's" utterance is traitorous. It not only charges bad faith and double-dealing against the Government at a time when that Government is putting forth all its strength in peaceful negotiations to secure reparation for the killing by a German naval commander of more than one hundred American citizens who were peaceably exercising their covenanted rights, it counsels Germany to resist the American demand: "Germany can never submit to the tone of it, and will, as much as we are sorry for it, find no other answer than the breaking off of diplomatic relations." We beg to remind all interested parties that this smacks of treason. . . .

We must not allow our natural indignation to blind us to the real importance of these utterances.

As expressions of disloyal feeling calculated to fan into flame disloyalty latent in Americans of German stock, they have no importance whatever, for the reason they are wholly misrepresentative of German-American feeling. But they have a grave importance, nevertheless. Translated and scattered broadcast, they do the American of German lineage a weighty injustice. They tend to make the American of Anglo-Saxon blood look with suspicion and misgiving at him, as an outlander, and distrust the fundamental Americanism of a section of our citizenship whose blood has wet our battlefields for more than one hundred years, whose contributions to our National life, industrial, commercial, intellectual, spiritual, have been most precious.

The Republic, in a city which owes perhaps to German-American vision, courage, and character more than any other American municipality, calls on the leaders among Americans of German stock to correct the false impressions made by sheets which are not representative of their attitude toward their country.

"One insinuation or complaint of the German press," says the New York "Evening Post," "is familiar. The United States, it again asserts, is playing England's game," and it adds:

The "British shadow" rests upon the White House. This has been said so often before that we suppose the German editors couldn't help repeating it. But they can scarcely believe it. For, unless they have failed to read President Wilson's notes with due attention, they must have discovered two things: the clearest differentiation of the American case, and the plain indication that we do not propose to overlook any just grievances which Great Britain may have given us in the war.

THE FUTURE

As to the future the Columbia "State" seems pessimistic. It says:

Unhappily there is little upon which to predict a theory that Germany will seek to avoid hostilities with any country.

On the other hand, the Birmingham "Age-Herald" thinks that "in all probability Ger-

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many's reply will be satisfactory." In any case, the Charleston "News and Courier" says:

It now rests wholly with Germany whether or not the Congress of the United States shall be assembled in extraordinary session to uphold the hands of the President and take such action against the Imperial German Government as the dignity and safety of the country may demand.

The Richmond "Times-Dispatch" concludes:

There is no bluster in the President's note, and there is none in the heart of America. War with Germany or with any other country, however great the provocation, is a thing hideous to contemplate. But there is one thing more hideous. It is the disgraceful yielding to wrong and oppression which makes freedom a mockery and peace the badge of shame.

THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE WAR

BY JAMES DAVENPORT WHELPLEY

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

*Of Puritan ancestry, a native of Massachusetts, educated at the Boston Latin School and Cornell University, by turns engineer, cow-puncher, newspaper editor in the West, correspondent, and traveler, Mr. Whelpley, the writer of the following piece of correspondence, has been a special student of world trade and of politics. He has held several commissions from different departments of the United States Government. In order better to study world conditions he is now spending most of his time in England. He is, however, an indefatigable traveler. Recently, after being near the center of the European war, he returned to his native country and traveled through the West. The Outlook asked him to tell to its readers how public sentiment in America concerning the war struck him as he came from a country whose interests and future condition as a great nation may be said to be at stake in the war. In the correspondence here published Mr. Whelpley tells our readers concerning American public opinion about the war as he found it on the Pacific Coast. In a subsequent piece of correspondence he will describe the sentiment as he found it in the Middle West. The Outlook has arranged also for special correspondence to be sent by Mr. Whelpley from England.—*THE EDITORS.

IT is a strange mental experience for an American who has been living in the European war zone ever since hostilities began to cross the Atlantic Ocean and then traverse the breadth of his native land. In England, within sound of the guns on the Channel and under the shadow of the "mailed fist," life has ceased to resemble anything before conceived. Individual liberty, greater in normal times than in any other civilized country, has disappeared, for nearly all the normal activities of the resident alien non-combatant are now suspended. Some things he is forbidden to do, others he finds in bad taste in times like these when all the thought and talk of his friends and associates—those who are left—are of war, its difficulties and its horrors.

A short time in New York, and the mind is filled with a whirl of conflicting reports and partisan argument. A swift journey across the continent, and the European conflict in which over twenty million men are fighting for ascendency or in self-defense becomes but an echo, an impersonal sort of thing to be argued academically. I asked a well-known San Francisco labor leader how his people felt about the war:

"Well," he said, "you know we have a great many German workmen here, and perhaps there was at first some pro-German sentiment; but that has gone, and I think our people are now almost unanimous in their deep-seated horror of the whole affair. They want to see it stopped. They would sacrifice a great deal themselves to stop it."

"What do you mean by that?" I asked. "Do you mean stopping the export of munitions?"

"Perhaps so," he said; "but anything to stop it." And that is as far as he could get; his vagueness of mind towards the war is really

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that of practically the entire population of the Pacific Coast, for, when asked if it was realized just what the peoples of Europe were fighting for, or that the stoppage of the export of munitions from America would help one side more than the other, this labor leader said, "I don't believe our people think that far Their only idea is that the war should stop." And that is the opinion of ninety-nine out of every one hundred who have any opinion at all.

German societies give entertainments, the proceeds to be used for the relief of German suffering. The French, Belgian, English, and Italian communities are doing likewise, and the Red Cross finds active and substantial support from all classes. A stranger to this planet who landed directly in San Francisco might be forgiven if he came to the conclusion that Europe had been visited by a great flood or famine, regardless of political divisions, and that here was a nation, fortunately immune by reason of remoteness, which was exerting itself in relief measures.

One hears eternally this talk of peace. With his studied eloquence, W. J. Bryan is here talking peace; women's societies hold meetings and talk peace; crowds of young men and women get together and decide that this terrible war ought to be stopped at once; and the spirit of the traveler from the war zone sinks within him, for he knows that there can be no peace for the mere sake thereof, and he wishes that his own people might visualize the situation in Europe with greater understanding.

Events of the earlier days of the war have apparently passed into ancient history, although recorded less than a year ago. Even the sinking of the Lusitania has become incidental, and the proper action to be taken by the United States Government has become an academic question to be left to President Wilson, in whose hands, it may be said, the Pacific Coast people are quite content to leave the matter. This confidence is born of the belief that he will not, under any circumstances, plunge the United States into war, and that somehow, some day, and that soon, he will bring the great conflict to an end, probably through an exchange of diplomatic notes.

This confidence in the power of President Wilson to keep the United States out of the European war is based upon his restraint in the matter of Mexico, and so great has become the horror of war as exemplified in Europe that any idea of armed interference in Mexico by the United States is viewed with loathing. "Let them fight it out among themselves. We are not going to send our fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons to be killed or maimed for a lot of squabbling 'Greasers,'" is the way they put it, and the stories told in prose and photographs of European horrors have fed this idea until it has become the unequivocal position of the entire Pacific Coast community. Non-interference in Mexico has strengthened the hold of President Wilson on the people of the Pacific Coast through a process of reaction againt war itself.

The standing of the European belligerents with the people of the Pacific Coast is about on a par; they are all sweepingly condemned. If sentiment leans one way or the other, it is towards the Allies, but more to Belgium and France than to England, Russia, or Italy. Belgium is looked upon as a victim of stronger neighbors, France as fighting for her life, England to retain her world-wide power, Russia for the Dardanelles, and Italy for what she can get out of it. Lines are not sharply drawn, however, and argument soon trails off into vagueness and general denunciation of all concerned. Some of the stories which are believed and theories given form would be ludicrous but for the tragedy of the point of view. Unquestionably a satirist could legitimately write a volume based upon the failure of modern diplomacy, civilization, or religion to conserve the interests of humanity; but a humorist who can make his joke hinge upon the sufferings of the four hundred million people of western Europe at this time, and the audience which laughs thereat, have either lost or failed ever to achieve a sense of the fitness of things; and yet on this Pacific Coast the newspapers furnish their funny columns from blood-drenched Europe and vaudeville artists get their laugh with such ribaldry. It nauseates, as would the laugh of idiocy, those who have come within reach of the grimness of death which hangs as a pall over a community of our fellow human beings, numbering four times as many as are counted in the American Nation.

A well-known Englishman returned to his home recently from the firing line, where he had been driving a hospital ambulance, it being the only service he could render, and shortly after his return blew his brains out to end the horrors which thronged his mind. An American of National reputation who

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recently came home from France, where he had been assisting in relief work, said that if the mind of a man could grasp this war in all its meaning and its horror the brain would burst. Any strain there may be upon the minds of Americans who, eight thousand miles from the firing line, are talking complacently about this "horrid war" and how it "must be stopped" is not yet perceptible. The pressure upon the brains of such is far removed from the bursting point; they are quite safe. The fact that the people of Europe are fighting for exactly the same reason and with the same devoted spirit that the people of the Pacific Coast would fight if attacked by the Japanese does not seem to have occurred to those fortunate American citizens whose homes are on the western coast. Nor do they seem to understand that Europe can no more tolerate a suggestion of peace from the American Government now than they would should such a suggestion come from Europe at a time when Japan had conquered and still held cities and other territory on the American mainland.

The people of Germany set out to accomplish certain ends. They have achieved a considerable measure of what they intended to do, and would naturally quickly entertain any suggestion of a peace based upon the present status of affairs. The opponents of Germany, Austria, and Turkey have not yet reached the height of their war power, and by continuing the war have hopes and a good prospect of wresting from their enemies the advantage the latter have gained so far. Peace at this time for the Allies would be exactly the same thing as if the United States, in the course of a war with Japan in which the Japanese had succeeded in taking Hawaii, the Philippines, and San Francisco, and before the resisting strength of the country had been mobilized, agreed to a peace leaving this territory in Japanese hands for the simple reason that it would save further bloodshed, suffering, and expense. By a unanimous vote the American people would reject such a peace.

I put this idea up to one of the strongest-voiced pacifists in California. He replied with something about kings and emperors, and when reminded that France was the second greatest republic, that the democracy of the English people was unquestioned, and that racial integrity demanded home rule, he quoted the statement alleged to have been made by Miss Jane Addams to the effect that the soldiers of France and England had to be made drunk in the trenches before they would make a bayonet charge. That floored me, because Miss Addams will be believed by many; and yet how any sane, intelligent, and honest man or woman could make such a libelous and untruthful statement as a sweeping generalization passes understanding. She may have uttered it in good faith, if she said it at all, and we have only newspaper reports for that; but, if she did, the value of any other comments she may have to make upon the state of affairs in Europe is to be seriously discounted. It is more than unfortunate that people of such standing and value to the world as is possessed by Miss Addams should be credited at this time in America with such statements. They cloud the vision of Americans at a time when they need to exercise their keenest intelligence in keeping before them the real issues of the war, its lessons to America, and in judging the actions of their fellow human beings, whether they be of this land or another.

As in a vision these people of the Pacific Coast see this war coming suddenly to an end by mutual agreement, perhaps upon a suggestion from President Wilson, and the millions of soldiers, carrying the nearly three million already dead, returning to their happy homes to go to work to earn money to send to America to help along that great era of prosperity which is coming to America following this war, as predicted by Judge Gary.

A great good for humanity may come out of this war, and it must be great for the law of compensation to work out; but it will not be a material gain for combatant or neutral. Neither will it be a world-wide surcease from war. The present propaganda of the pacifists is doing a vast spiritual harm to the American people. It is encouraging an egotistical selfishness, a spirit of Pharisaism, destroying their touch with humanity as a whole, and blinding them to what is going on in the world other than bloodshed. It is also further disarming our great Nation, already more helpless than was England on land when this war began—a Nation which is in need of sufficient organized power to enforce its just demands or resist aggression; and nowhere in America is the effect of this malign influence more in evidence than on the Pacific Coast.

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MIGHT AND RIGHT

BY HENRY VAN DYKE

If Might made Right, life were a wild beast's cage;
If Right made Might, this were the golden age.
But now, until we win the long campaign,
Right must gain Might to conquer and to reign.

APPORTIONMENT

BY WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

As a lioness laps at a midnight pool alone,
The silver slaver dripping in diamonds from her beard,
So Pain's rough tongue laps at the dark deep waters
Within my soul.

Pain is a purring lioness; I, o'erthrown,
Lie 'neath her paw, and her claws sink deep, and my flesh is seared;
Yet her head is raised. She snuffs afar new slaughters
And a fiercer toll.

Through the black forest flickers a surer spear
Than mine; the mail of a hero glitters between the trees.
The lioness leaps from above me. My sight, presaging,
Turns on the twain.

How my wounds are shamed! For now, in the night, I hear
Their thrashing struggle; I see him, fighting, forced to his knees.
God, for that death of his! To be worth that raging
Onslaught of Pain!

ON THE FERRY-BOAT

BY AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

It's thinking long I am, and my mouth is dry with the fire of it.
(Circling over the water, hark how the gray gulls call!)
And the bones in my body are gone to wax with the wasting desire of it—
The scream of the waves and the gulls on the beaches of Donegal.

It's thinking long I am, and my soul is sick with the pain of it.
(Smell it! can you not smell it? the tide coming in from sea?)
And I'm limp as a man from the rack with the endless maddening strain of it—
Walking the treadmill here while my home is calling for me.

It's thinking long I am of a boy who was brave and merry—
A boy they called by my name, clear-eyed and clean of the hand. . . .
Mary, Mother of God! give me strength to get over the ferry,
To turn my back on the water and walk ashore when we land!

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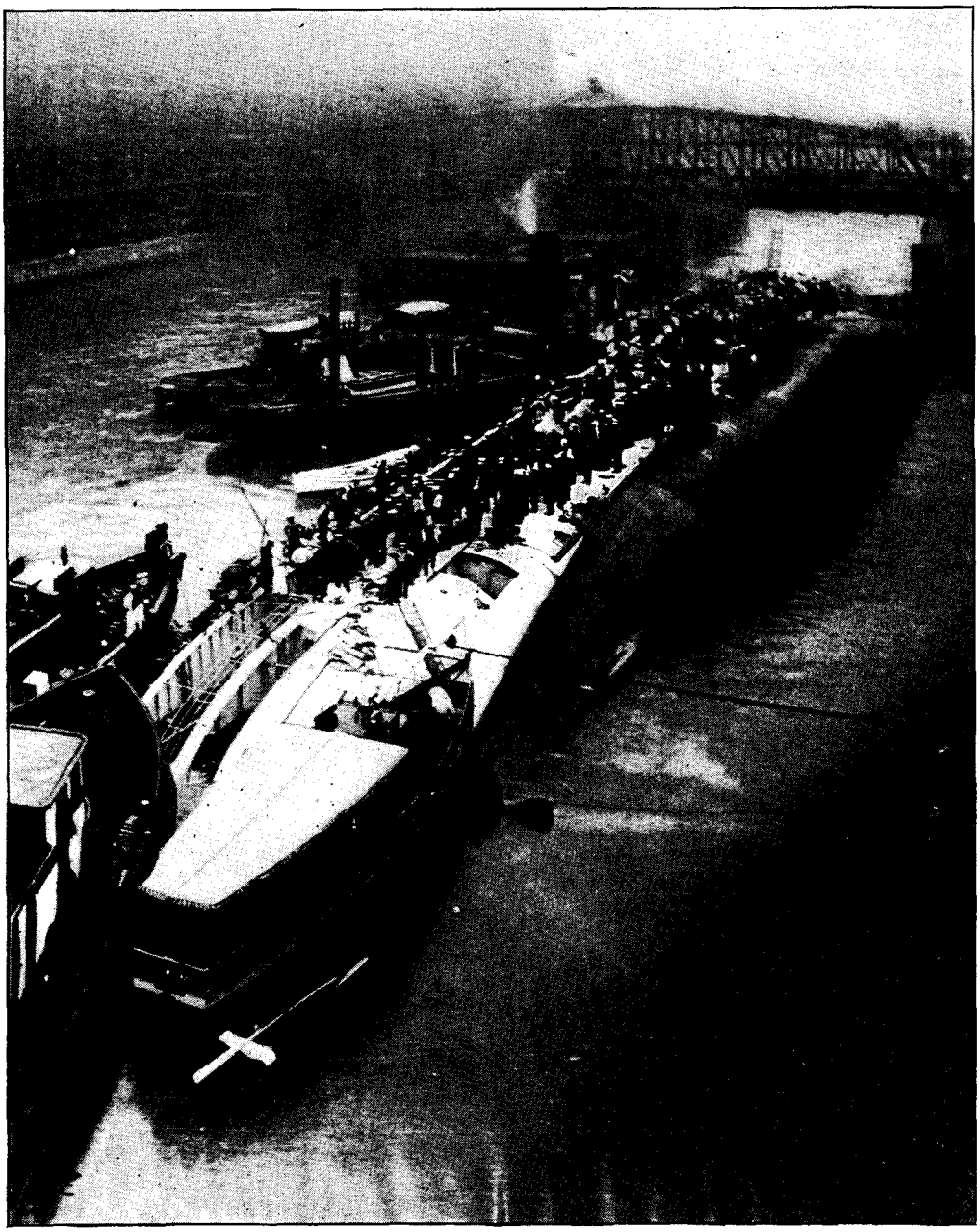
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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THE EASTLAND DISASTER

By the sudden overturning of the steamboat Eastland in the Chicago River on July 24 over a thousand lives were lost. The Eastland was about to start on an excursion with over 2,000 employees of the Western Electric Company. This photograph shows the vessel after it capsized, and while the work of rescue was in progress. For a discussion of the causes of this disaster and responsibility for it see the editorial pages

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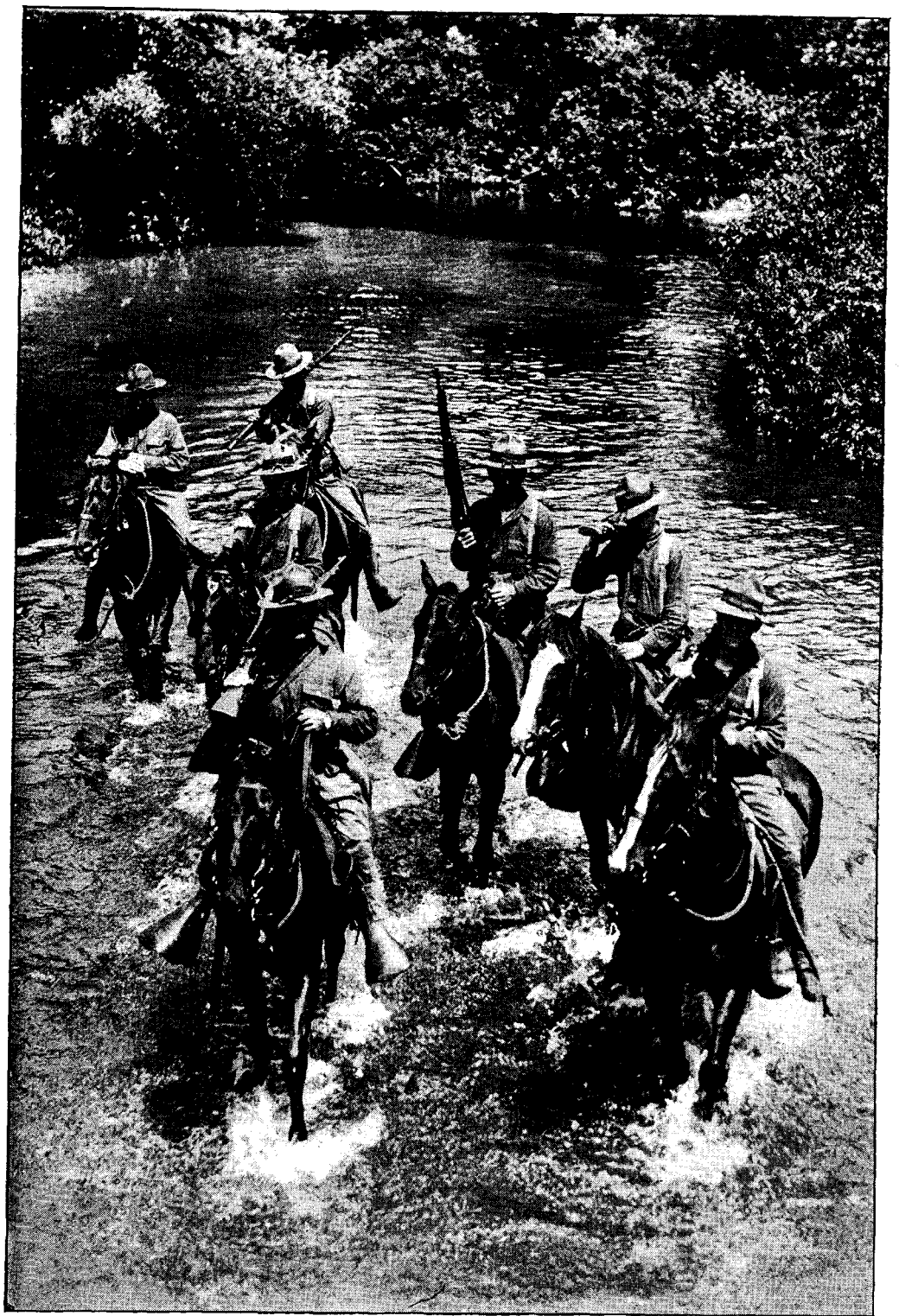

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TRAINING CITIZENS IN THE SCIENCE OF WAR

By the pictures on this and the following page is suggested some idea of the labor and equipment necessary to create a "citizenry trained and accustomed to arms." Above, mounted infantry of New York State militia are shown fording a stream near Camp Whitman, on the Fishkill plains. Engineers and coast artillery are seen at work on the following page. See editorial comment

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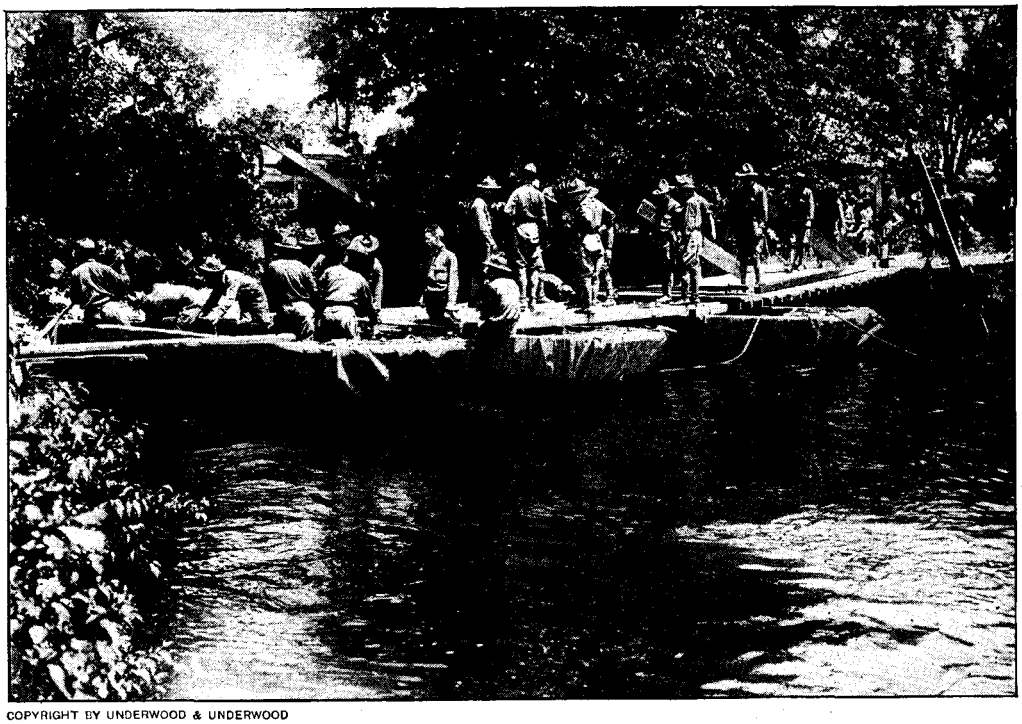

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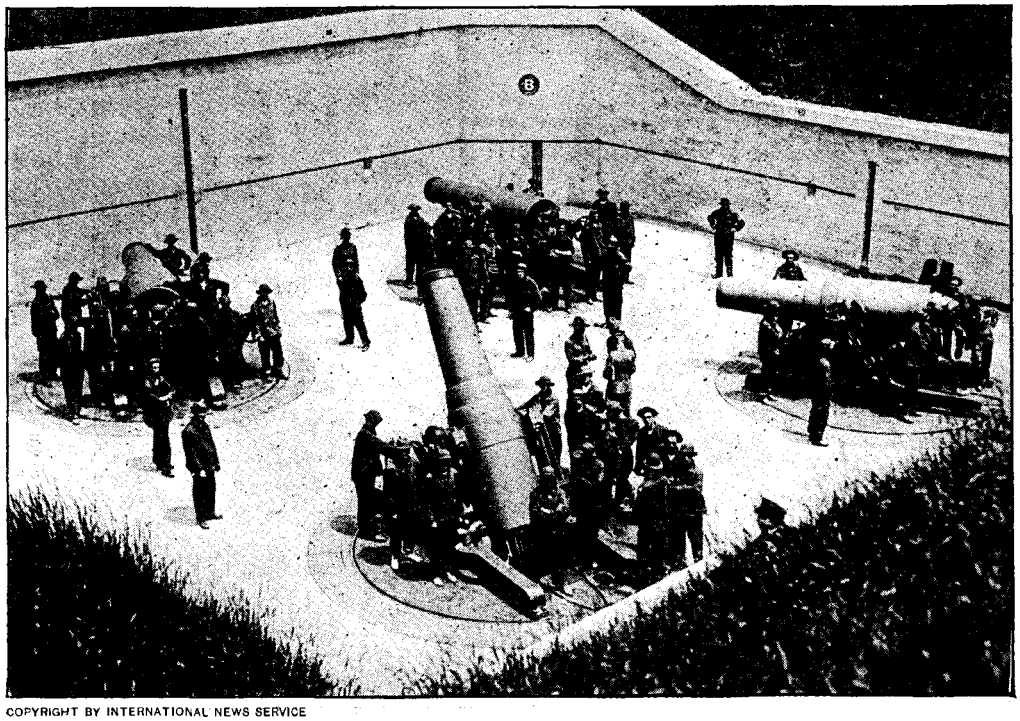
A DETACHMENT OF THE TWENTY-SECOND NEW YORK ENGINEERS CONSTRUCTING A PONTOON BRIDGE



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THE SECOND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE COAST DEFENSE MILITIA SERVING 12-INCH MORTARS IN FORT ANDREW, NEAR BOSTON

BRIDGE-BUILDING AND COAST DEFENSE

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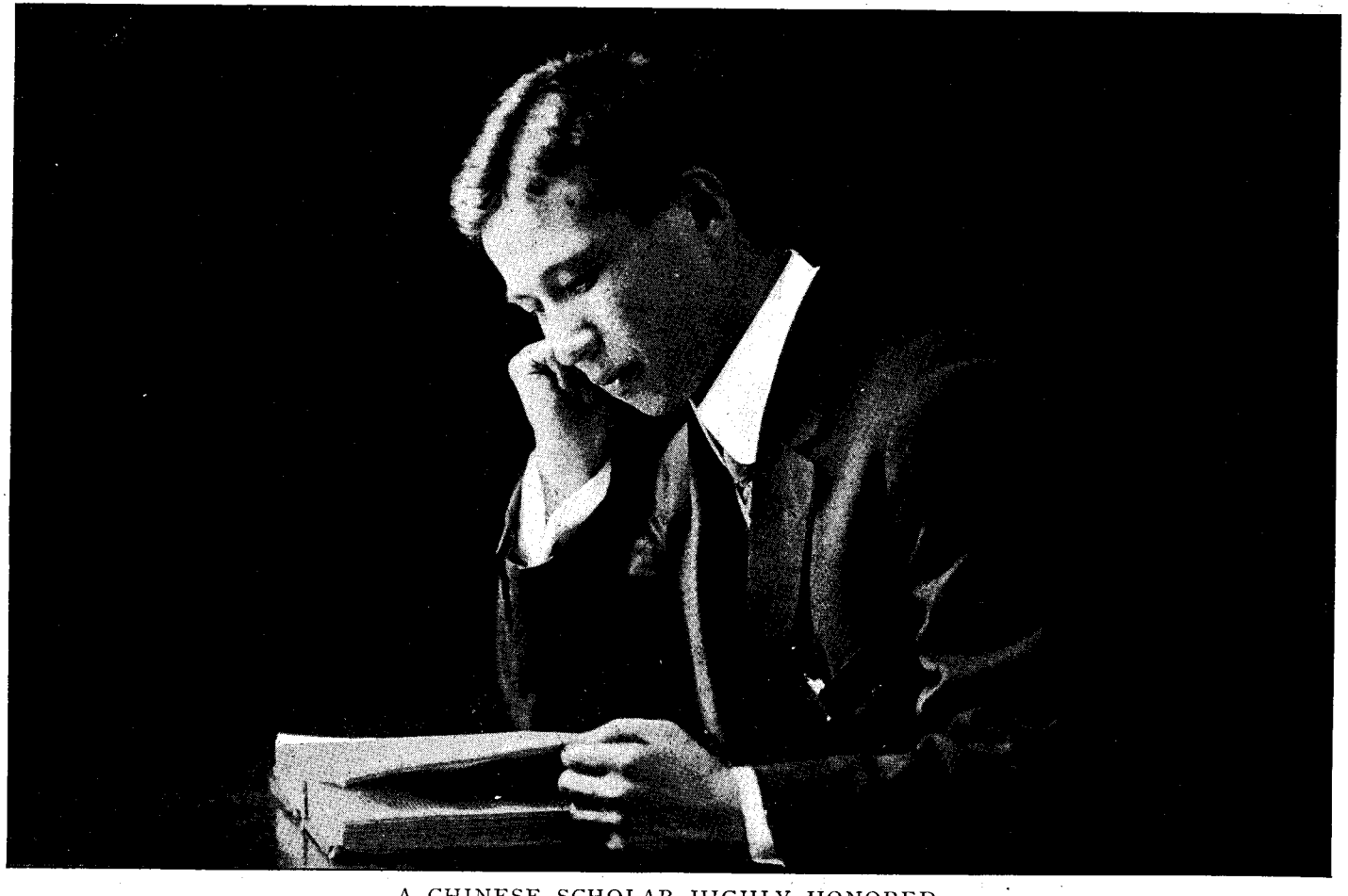

A CHINESE SCHOLAR HIGHLY HONORED

Joshua Zan Tsung-nyi, the young Chinese student of Hangchow, China, who carried off the important prize for American Diplomacy and International Law at Columbia University this year, has been invited by the Bureau of Education at Washington to address the International Convention of Educators, to be held in Oakland, California, in August

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A WATER FAMINE IN MEXICO CITY

The poor people in Mexico City have suffered terribly from lack of water, as the forces, first of Zapata and then of Carranza, have cut off the supply from outside the city. At times owners of private wells have sold their water at high prices. In some instances the owners have been driven from the wells by force. This picture shows one such well to which, it is said, people came from great distances to get water, taking the risk of the notoriously dangerous character of the water in some of these city wells

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A VISIT TO WAR SUFFERERS

The eighty-year-old Grand Duchess of Baden and the Queen of Sweden going to visit the victims of the recent aerial raid at Carlsruhe

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SCHOOL-GIRLS IN THE FIELDS

While the men are at the front these high school girls of Berlin are busy in the fields in Charlottenburg, near by

GERMAN WOMEN IN WAR TIME

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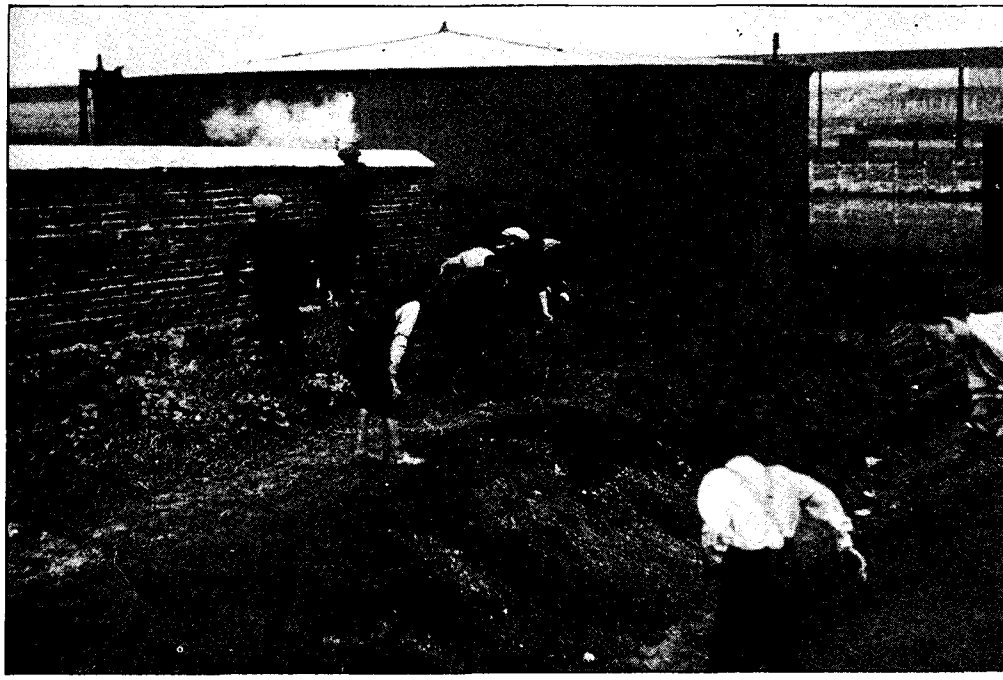

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In the violence growing out of the strike at the Standard Oil and Tidewater plants in Bayonne, New Jersey, two strikers were killed and several persons wounded. This picture shows a striker deliberately shooting with a pistol over the brick wall

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A crowd of strikers outside an oil plant picking up stones and throwing them at the guards

MOB VIOLENCE AT BAYONNE

See editorial comment

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ON THE TRAIL OF PROGRESS AND REACTION IN THE WEST

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

NINTH ARTICLE

THE FARTHEST OUTPOST OF ADVANCING DEMOCRACY—CALIFORNIA

AT the opening of the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco, Mr. Franklin Lane, the able Secretary of the Interior, paid fitting tribute to a work of sculpture, least conspicuous of all, "the modest figure of a man, standing beside two oxen, looking down on the court of the nations when East and West come face to face."

> "Without him," said Secretary Lane, "we would not be here. . . . The long journey of this slight, modest figure that stands beside the oxen is at an end. . . . But adventure is not to end. Here will be taught the gospel of an advancing democracy—strong, valiant, confident, conquering—upborne and typfied by the immortal spirit of the American pioneer."

The air and soil and far-flung resource and opportunity and blending of enterprising native stocks in the commonwealth of California have made already of the modest figure of the pioneer a strong, valiant, confident, conquering exponent of advancing democracy. The most definite impression which the California of the present day makes upon you is that of a tremendous physical and mental and an increasingly moral vitality. In the history of California, both recent and remote, the like and the unlike in human nature may be observed at their best and at their worst. There are many elements which make for unity. A very large proportion of the population is of the restless and enterprising pioneer strain which hails from the Eastern and Middle Western United States. Particularly in the southern part of California there are Kansas Societies and Iowa Societies and Massachusetts Societies, and many others, with memberships running far into the thousands. They have not forgotten whence they sprang, but they are Californian to the core, and aggressive and united for a better economic and political and social order for their adopted State.

But there is variety with the unity. Speaking again first of southern California, you may find there pretty nearly every phase of thought in medicine, theology, and politics which has ever occurred before to anybody in the United States, and then some other phases besides. And there are strong friction and difference of view between northern California and the south, between San Francisco and Los Angeles and San Diego, between the vinous interests and the prohibition interests, between the materialists and the idealists, between the progressives and the radicals. You can trace in motion all the currents and the cross-currents of a powerful democratic empire. The men and the women of the second generation seem physically above the American average in stature and in strength, and the forces, both individual and social, which have been set in motion within this commonwealth are unquestionably fraught with potency for the whole country. And the result of the development there taking place is sure to have an important bearing upon the future of American democracy.

California has already been through one of the most absorbing political and social struggles of which it is possible to conceive. The darker and more violent and forbidding aspects of her experience have in some measure clouded to the mind of the country the truth of the brilliant triumph of the moral vitality of the California people. In the early days of the gold rush and for some years afterward the worst and the best met on the farthest border. The legal rule of the worst led to anarchy. And the best organized Vigilance Committees outside the bounds of law which led through anarchy to social order. Occasionally it must happen so. At times justice and social order run deeper than legal forms.

During the generation following the Civil War California, in common with the country as a whole, passed swiftly through a period of phenomenal prosperity and growth which

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put a severe strain upon individual and National character. A greedy materialism reached out to control the sources of political power, and in the process tainted the springs of popular government. Boards of supervisors and councilmen in the cities and counties and legislatures in the States, governors, and even the higher judges, became the pawns of public utility corporations in political alliance with the brothel, the gambling-house, and the saloon. This was the exact history of government in California. This was the slough into which the Commonwealth fell. In the West the railways were the first great centralized property interest. In California for many years the brains of the corrupt political system were the lawyers and judges and managers of the Southern Pacific machine. Among the "allies" were the chiefs of the United Railways of San Francisco, leading officials of the gas and telephone corporations, the French restaurant-keepers and the Barbary Coast brothel-keepers. Of different social caste, they might not speak as they passed by. But their political bonds were as closely knit as muscle fibers. Their common interest was their desire to control popular government for private gain, whether of the monopoly or the tenderloin. Again, as in the border days, the worst in human society grappled with the best, this time under the forms of law. It is the same chapter, whether you read it in California, in Colorado, in Illinois, or in New York.

It was a long and desperate struggle. At first the fight for liberty was made by a few individuals, some of them succeeding by caution in getting as far as the Legislature, only to be politically destroyed by the machine at the next election. Then whole counties broke away, the more radical southern California leading the vanguard. Then came in quick succession the physical and the moral earthquake in San Francisco in 1906. The city at the Golden Gate had fallen low before the earthquake came. A so-called Labor Democracy was in power, with an orchestra leader named Schmitz as Mayor and a cunning and conscienceless graduate of the University of California named Ruef as boss. The public utility corporations generally and the lower groups of organized vice were engaged in bribing their way to unequal public favor. The eagerness of the French restaurants for further immoral privileges and the desire of the United Railways, in changing from cable to electric current, to install the cheaper and unsightly overhead trolley instead of the modern underground conduit were together the undoing of the corruptionists. The boss Ruef extorted illicit fees from the French restaurant people, and Ruef and the supervisors were the beneficiaries of large sums from the public utility corporations in payment for acts of treason to the public welfare. Before the coveted right was secured, and in the midst of the parley about it, there fell the earthquake and the fire. And the transportation corporation slyly sought to take advantage of the city's dire need. The cable system was reported to be in ruin, and quickly the work of the installation of the overhead trolley proceeded. But in their desolation, more keenly than in the days of their comfort and prosperity, the people of San Francisco recognized the hand of the greedy enemies of the public weal. The charges against the Supervisors, who had long been under suspicion, were revived. Rudolph Spreckels and John D. Phelan, recently elected United States Senator, and others of their kind, among the largest property-holders in the city, came forward with influence and funds, and the fight was begun to end forever in California that alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics which has long been the shame of American government and of the American people.

I pause to mention three lessons which the experience of San Francisco should teach the whole country. And the first is that even in times of the coarsest and crudest commercialism it is not just to put all men of wealth and power in the business world into one class and count them as enemies of the state. Enemies of the state know no class. And in San Francisco and California, as everywhere else in the Union, when the crisis has come in popular government, the line of cleavage has been at once drawn between the base and the upright. Men like Herrin, of the Southern Pacific, and Calhoun, of the United Railways, and their allies of the business class in San Francisco, most of them lackeys of certain Eastern financiers, were opposed by the wealth and the prestige and the public sense of right of men like Spreckels and Phelan. Throughout the long struggle for democracy in America it always has been so, and it always will be so. And the second lesson is, that class government is not to be trusted, whether it be the government of labor or the government of property. San

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Francisco was governed first by the propertied class, and then by the labor class under Schmitz and Ruef. And both forms were a travesty. And the last was worse than the first. Under the guise of a government for the masses of the people, it played directly into the hands of the bigger corruptionists through the manipulations of the crafty Ruef. Truck-drivers and bartenders on the Board of Supervisors fell an easy prey to the influence of money furnished by the class higher up. Both property rule and labor rule are un-American and perverting to National integrity. And the third lesson is, that the most dangerous foes of democracy are not Tammany heelers in New York or their kinsmen in San Francisco. The college-bred crook in politics, both in New York and in California, is much more to be fought and feared. Ruef was a graduate of the University of California, the Harvard of the Pacific Coast, and his cultivated brain was put at the service of the corrupt foes of the public welfare. When the heroic Heney, himself also a graduate of the University of California, first charged Ruef with this corrupt alliance, the letter which Ruef next day sent to the newspapers is a model of clear and simple and forcible English, and is surcharged with a sense of indignant outrage that he should be so maligned! To the average reader, who knew no more than Heney had said or Ruef had retorted, Ruef would appear as white as the snow. And yet not many months after, from San Quentin Prison, Ruef wrote "The Road I Traveled," and by his own confession he was as black as the night. Democracy should beware of the cunning of the college-bred crook. And democracy should also remember that the most competent and powerful influence to cope with this cunning has proved to be trained, college-bred integrity.

The famous graft prosecutions followed the fire and the earthquake. The machine had slipped a cog in the election of one Langdon, who proved to be an honest and fearless District Attorney. Associated with him was Francis J. Heney, who had attracted National attention by the successful prosecution of the Oregon land frauds. And the funds were the funds of honest and patriotic business men in San Francisco. The Supervisors confessed their shame and obtained immunity from penalty. Schmitz was ousted from the office of Mayor. Ruef was convicted of extortion, and, most extraordinary incident of all, was ultimately sent to the penitentiary, where he now is. It was a bad day for the bribe-taker. And everybody was against him. The entire city of San Francisco seemed to be behind Heney, Langdon, and Spreckels. But, alas! as in Colorado, so in California, justice on the trail began to scent the bribe-giver, and the trail led toward the seats of the mighty. Glass, of the telephone utility, was convicted. Ford, the distinguished counsel, and Calhoun, the President of the United Railways, both of whom had refused to testify in the cases of the bribe-takers, were put on trial. And the real fight was begun. A galaxy of defending lawyers exhausted the resources of technical procedure. An unparalleled campaign of publicity was inaugurated to cloud the public mind with misrepresentation of the motives and purposes of the prosecution. Jury-fixing was uncovered, and mistrials suddenly became the rule. Reversals in the Schmitz and Ruef case occurred in the higher courts. The defense grew arrogant. Witnesses were intimidated by detectives and thugs. The residence of the pivotal witness against the United Railways was dynamited. Heney was shot down in court by an ex-convict who would have served on the jury in the Ruef trial except for the exposure and vigilance of the prosecution. It was an orgy of brutal and cunning obstacle and opposition.

And then came evidence that the public itself was growing weary. Rumbles of dissent filled the air. The merchants who a short time before had banqueted Langdon and Heney with enthusiasm now began to complain that the prosecution was being "carried too far," that it was "hurting business." When the Ford and Calhoun cases were called, the court-room was brilliant with representatives of the social and professional classes, and, curiously enough, the Southern Pacific, though not on trial, was not without its ambassadors in the throng. Certain powerful newspapers in San Francisco suddenly became lukewarm towards the prosecution, and ultimately fierce and malicious in their opposition. It ought to be said, however, that the great interior county papers of California never wavered in their helpfulness, and never have wavered in the long fight since for liberty under the forms of law. In San Francisco Spreckels and Phelan and Heney and Langdon were denounced in the fashionable clubs—not by all, but by most. Spreckels, it was said, had "gone back on

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his class," and this from men whose honest ancestors one generation back are credibly reported to have come over in the steerage. Phew!

And, last of all, the sober sense of the plain man in the street was undermined. In the San Francisco election of 1909, when a new district attorney was to be chosen, Heney was the candidate of the men who had long been fighting the people's battle, and one Fickert was a candidate of the defense. In this emergency, labor, which had most at stake in the outcome, failed in insight, and presented a nominee of its own. And thus ran the argument of the crowd: "They are all grafters. Of course Calhoun is a grafter. But Spreckels is a grafter. Fickert is Calhoun's man. But Heney is Spreckels's man. Let us vote for our own candidate." The forces of uprightness were defeated, and Fickert won. And the graft cases were dismissed. And the graft prosecutions ended in gloom and defeat. Vast expenditures of money and energy and brain resource had been made in the cause of civic betterment. And the immediate result appeared to be only Ruef in prison—by a hair's breadth. Mr. Harris Weinstock, a leading business man in California, now a member of the Federal Commission upon Industrial Relations, voiced the substance of the general feeling among the thoughtful:

> After all, the saddest thing is to find men who are rated as decent, law-abiding, intelligent, presumably high-minded and moral, condoning the sins of the bribe-givers and deploring their indictment and prosecution. Both the commercial and the political bribe-giver committed serious crimes, but by far the more serious was the crime of corrupting public officials, because the tendency of this crime is to undermine the very foundations of the State, thus leading to the ultimate destruction of democracy. If the spirit of the respectables, fighting and condemning the graft prosecution, is to become the common spirit, then must we bid farewell to civic virtue, and in time farewell to our republican institutions and civic liberty.

But the darkness was not so deep as it seemed. It was not many months before the light began to break over the whole State of California. And men saw that there had been a remarkable advance in public insight and a remarkable growth in the sense of public liberty and uprightness between the years 1906–10. In 1906, even after the graft prosecutions had begun, Ruef was the pre-eminent figure in the Republican State Convention at Santa Cruz, and the private car of Herrin, of the Southern Pacific, stood on the siding while the nomination for Governor was consummated. In 1910 occurred one of the most notable political revolutions that ever took place peacefully in a free State. Hiram W. Johnson, who had been associated with Heney in the bribery prosecutions, and who raised the flag of defense when it fell from the stricken Heney's grasp, was nominated for Governor by the Republicans on the issue that he would "kick the Southern Pacific machine out of power." He was elected for four years, and has just been re-elected for four more by a very great majority.

Johnson's first Message launched the State into a new alignment upon modern problems of political idealism and democracy. He declared for effective railway regulation, for a direct vote upon United States Senator, for a full-fledged Australian ballot, and for the initiative, referendum, and recall. And soon the State had them all. There is no commonwealth where the debatable movement for the recall of judges has been so overwhelmingly popular as in California. The new Legislature under Johnson passed favorably upon it by unprecedented majorities. And the people were joyously generous in their ratification. And, of course, there is a reason for it which is stronger than any argument which can be made from a National standpoint for the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy. It is not the trial judges in California who have been so much under profound suspicion. Lawlor and Dunne, in the bribery prosecution, were broadly and intelligently faithful to their trust, and both of them have been rewarded for their fidelity by advance in public honor. But the appellate judges in the Ruef case and in other instances so conducted themselves from the standpoint of corporate bias, so employed narrow, technical interpretation in the defeat of the ends of public justice, that popular judgment of their public worth became very low indeed. And the overwhelming sentiment for the recall of judges in California is a natural reaction against these thoroughly dangerous and unwholesome conditions, and is not at all a test of what should be the National policy under normal circumstances and in the long run.

In five years the Johnson administration has accomplished far more for genuine lib-

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erty and human welfare than had been accomplished in the previous forty years. And the most noteworthy advance is in efficiency. There is no commonwealth in the United States which equals in efficiency the Johnson Government of California. The public service or railway commission is a model in the final and just supremacy which it has established for the State over its own corporate creations. "Gentlemen, we submit," said a representative of the railways the other day, when the subject of a ten per cent tax increase was up for discussion. For forty years the Southern Pacific machine enforced submission upon the people of California. The new way is more in consonance with the Constitution, besides being more natural.

I invite the attention of the State of New York to the comparative value of highway commissions. Johnson secured on his Highway Board a group of men with business acumen and generous public spirit. The Legislature appropriated $18,000,000 for the construction of 3,000 miles of new road. The Board placed an order for cement for the whole State for about half the cost to a private contractor. Upon request, the railways agreed to carry all materials and machinery for construction at half rates. The sound business economies already practiced mean a saving of several million dollars. The bituminous top and the scientific plans for maintenance will give California as fine a system of roads as there is in the world. What about it, State of New York? How does it compare with the alleged and famous "fifty-fifty" division of highway funds, with expedited favoritism for the powerful, and with rapid deterioration of structure? In whose interest is Government in New York? In whose interest is Government in California?

Johnson has established a merit system for the whole State, which has its defects, as all merit systems do. But it is far better than the old way, and has brought the power of political patronage to an end. Johnson has put the State's business upon the high plane of the most exacting private corporation. Against the fiercest assaults from its foes, Johnson has established workmen's compensation upon the statute-books. In the 1914 campaign, the wisdom and beneficence of it were so clearly recognized that its original political opponents undertook to convince the public that they were its original sponsors. It is the Johnson policy to make the University of California the lighthouse of government in the Commonwealth. And there is much more of it; all in the direction of liberty, of efficiency, and of humanity.

I say Johnson because in the mind of the average citizen of California he is the whole works. During the flood period last winter, as I was riding into Sacramento, the conductor on the train sat down by my side and pointed to a great levee which protected tracks and reclaimed a very large area of the fine arable land for truck gardening. And he explained how much more might be added for the same purpose "if the Governor would only extend the levee still farther." Always "the Governor." "Let Johnson do it. He knows how."

It was Johnson who voiced accurately the sentiment of the people of California with respect to Japanese exclusion. There is some criticism of him in the East on this matter, but there is none in California. It is more than doubtful whether our National treaties with Japan are at all violated by the policy which permits the leasing of land for three years, but not the ownership. Mr. Bryan threatened a referendum of the people when he left the State in 1913, after an unsuccessful session upon this question with the California Legislature. And Governor Johnson said, quietly, "Well, it will be a pretty fight." But the fight never came off. The referendum was never demanded, and the will of the Legislature was practically the unanimous will of the people of California. Johnson is a great politician as well as a great Governor. He knows how to inspire young men, business and professional men, to serve the State. He is a remarkable campaigner, and this quality was of much value both in his first great combat with the Southern Pacific machine and at the 1914 election, when it seemed that the superficial wave of National reaction might reach even to the coast of California. But nothing of the kind happened. California displayed the most exuberant and discriminating non-partisan judgment upon both men and measures. She re-elected the Progressive Johnson by a huge majority. She chose the Democratic United States Senator John D. Phelan over the Progressive Francis J. Heney, she stood the acid test of direct democracy by carefully picking 27 out of 48 pieces of legislation and constitutional amendment which appeared on the ballot, displaying a liberal intelligence and

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ability that should excite at least admiration even from a Bourbon reactionary.

The choice of Phelan over Heney was a hard one to make. Both had been true beyond eulogy to civic progress and public righteousness. I think the chief reason for the selection of one over the other was that the outstanding antagonisms to Phelan were more remote. In 1901, as Mayor of San Francisco at the time of the street car drivers' strike, he had incurred the violent displeasure of union labor by insisting upon order and moving of the cars. By 1914 this had been forgiven if not forgotten. Heney was beaten by the vote of San Francisco, where his prosecution of the bribe-givers had, of course, aroused the fiercest resentments. San Francisco has benefited from the general political revolution, but is not yet under moral conviction like the rest of the State. But I venture the prediction that when thirteen years have passed, just as San Francisco forgave Phelan, so she will forgive Heney and honor him. But "it is a long, long way to Tipperary," especially in democracies.

The final circumstance upon which California may lay claim to be the farthest outpost of advancing democracy is the extraordinary decision of Governor Johnson and the Legislature to make of her a completely non-partisan State. This measure, which seems most radical to the rest of the country, must yet pass a referendum of the voters of California. But, if they are consistent with themselves, they will ratify it. California is already a non-partisan State in fact. Although the party in power is the Progressive, California cares no more for the Progressive party than she does for the Republican party or the Democratic party—probably not as much. In fact, a majority of the voters of the State enrolled in the Republican party last fall, and then exercised the widest possible latitude by electing very few Republicans anywhere.

The new non-partisan Election Bill strikes from the ballot all party designations, so that the ballot will contain nothing but the title of the office and the list of the candidates running for election. Any one may compete at the primary, but the two highest will go on the ballot at the general election. In case any candidate receives a majority at the primary, his name will be the only one to be printed on the ballot for the general election. This system had already been adopted by the smaller cities in 1909, by San Francisco in 1911, and for counties and judicial offices in 1913. Now it will be applied to the entire State.

This complete revolt against the party system for State purposes, which is a development and not a sudden irrational impulse in California, is another bit of evidence of the independent character of the population, and of the gigantic steps which the State feels itself able to take. The argument for party efficiency and responsibility, so strong in most of the States, no longer appeals to California. California has never known genuine party responsibility. For forty years she has had to go outside the reigning machine organizations to get either efficiency or responsibility or justice. She has always found herself under the necessity of forming vigilance committees, or societies for the prosecution of grafters, or Lincoln-Roosevelt leagues, or something of similar nature. If you put the argument on the ground that we shall go back to personal government if we do not have party government, California will say that she never had anything but personal government under the old order—the government of Herrin, of Calhoun, of Ruef. And now it is Johnson; but she picked him herself. And so the experiment of non-partisan State political organizations (for, of course, there will be organizations) separate from the National party is likely to go on. And the rest of the country will watch and wait and wonder.

The important question is, Can this burst of civic patriotism continue when the Johnson régime passes? The Governor seemed to doubt whether it would live into a second administration of his own. He forced the record of the accomplishments of his first four years down the throats of the California people during the last campaign with an abandon that was not altogether the abandon of optimism. But California rose brilliantly to her opportunity, in the face of a wave of National reaction. She now easily leads the long roll of our democratic commonwealths. Her climate, her resources, her vitality, her mingling of sturdy native stocks, her enterprise, her opportunities for leisure, her liking for expert efficiency, her illuminating experience with the powers of political darkness, all fit her for a higher than Athenian citizenship. Certainly she has the capacity and the environment to be to the rest of the United States more than Athens was to the sister states of Greece.

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THE TINKER'S PACK

BY DONAL H. HAINES

STEPHEN LANDIS stood on the sweeping porch of his summer home, staring contentedly across the rolling acres that were all his own. The clean morning air, the satisfying prospect, the voices of his wife and son in the house behind him filled him with that profound satisfaction which comes only to men whose lives have adjusted themselves pleasantly, yet still hold work whose accomplishment is a delight.

He started to turn into the house, when a slender plume of bluish-white smoke rising above a green block of woodland caught his eyes.

"H'm!" he said, thoughtfully. "Smoke's no business there. Miller burned that brush three weeks back."

He called through the open doorway that he would be late for breakfast, crossed the lawn, and took a direct path across the fields toward the woods, careless of the heavy dew which soaked his white flannel trousers and tennis shoes. A walk of five minutes brought him to the edge of the woods. As he stepped noiselessly among the oaks and maples he heard a cheerful whistle and the snapping of a fire, and presently his nostrils caught the odors of wood smoke and boiling coffee.

Between the tree-trunks he saw a small fire burning between three flat-topped stones which supported a battered coffee-pot and frying-pan. A tanned, bearded man in a rusty brown suit squatted on his haunches by the fire, whistling blithely, and cutting slices of bacon with a serviceable-looking knife. Behind him lay a blanket and a dingy pack.

Landis put his foot on a dry twig, which snapped sharply. The man by the fire looked up quickly, but did not move.

"Good-morning," he said, pleasantly. "Am I trespassing?"

"Well, yes," answered Landis, somewhat surprised by the form of the greeting and the refinement of the man's face and voice.

"Sorry," said the bearded man. "I always mean to say 'please' before I camp, but it was late last night when I got here, and I'd done twelve miles since two o'clock. I suppose it's no good promising not to muss things up?"

Landis smiled.

"I couldn't think of interrupting your breakfast," he answered; "and that business-like little fire tells me you're a man who picks up after himself. Stay, by all means."

"Thank you." The man settled his coffee with a little cold water and broke two eggs into the panful of sputtering bacon. "The only way I can return the courtesy is to invite you to breakfast. Things are clean and the storekeeper at Lewiston vouched for the eggs and bacon."

"You'd be surprised if I were to accept, wouldn't you?" asked Landis.

The man looked at him narrowly.

"No," he replied; "I think I should be complimented."

"Very well," agreed Landis, and sat down on a log. "I hope there are more eggs. I'm hungry."

"There are more," replied his host, "but you'll have to pay for them. This is my regular allowance, and I have to practice rigid economy."

"But you're using my woods," Landis reminded him.

"That's a quibble. You've just made me free of them."

"How shall I pay, then?"

"Tobacco. My pouch is empty, and I know I shall like your English mixture better than what I've been smoking."

Landis tossed a full pouch onto the ground.

"You drive easy bargains," he said.

"You've not eaten the breakfast yet," the other answered, with a grin.

Landis fulfilled his promise of a hearty appetite, and the supply of eggs was exhausted. While they ate they talked of indifferent matters, their speech being that of men of the same sort who are sure to understand each other. Landis was quite obviously measuring the other, and the bearded man, though perfectly aware of this searching scrutiny, did not seem at all annoyed by it. The meal finished, they filled their pipes from Landis's pouch.

"It's a rule of mine to make trespassers explain themselves," said Landis. "I'm a very easy-going squire, but I like to know something of my chance guests."

"I'm a tinker," said the man in the brown clothes.

"Oh, come!" protested Landis.

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In reply, the man reached for his pack and spread out on the ground soldering-iron, furnace, and the other tools of his trade.

"You dress the part," admitted Landis; "but what's the rest of it?"

"There isn't any," answered the tinker. "I am what I have said. Moreover, I'm probably the best tinker in the world. Too few of us, I'm afraid, have any imagination. I do what I can for the improvement of the craft."

"And when you're not playing at tinkering," said Landis, "you write or lecture—or try to persuade people to be Socialists."

The tinker shook his head.

"None of those things," he answered. "I mend the broken pots of the country."

Landis knocked out his pipe and rose.

"I didn't mean to pry," he said, shortly. "Please use my woods as often as you like. And thanks for the breakfast, which was excellent."

He turned away, but the tinker stopped him with his next words.

"You're Stephen Landis, the architect," he said, abruptly. "I recognized your house last night. I wish you'd tell me how you had the nerve to put that new dome on St. George's Cathedral?"

Landis stared in astonishment.

"It ought to fall down," exclaimed the Tinker; "but it doesn't. Do you lie awake nights wondering when it will?"

"What do you know about such things?" demanded Landis.

The tinker paused, and wiped a plate with a wisp of twisted grass before answering.

"I shouldn't have spoken," he said, "but the temptation was too strong. You're entitled to all the explanations you care to hear. I know so much about such things that I can't forget all the time. You see, I built a bridge my second year out of college, and the blamed thing buckled and fell into the river. All that went with it was a string of empties and a brakeman, but it was my bridge and it broke!"

"I see," Landis said, thoughtfully. "That explains your tinker's kit, perhaps."

The tinker nodded.

"It's infinitely better to be a tinker whose patches give perfect satisfaction," he said, "than an engineer whose bridges tumble into the river."

"I wonder if it is," mused Landis. "That makes success the measure of everything. If my dome on St. George's fell down and carried everything with it, I shouldn't be able to shoulder your pack cheerfully. The hedgerows of spring are all very well for restoring a man's self esteem, but I should be giving up too much. And you gave it all up, too!"

"The only weakness in your logic," retorted the tinker, "is that your dome hasn't fallen. And you didn't build it your second year out of the egg-shell either."

His face, as he pulled steadily at his pipe, lost something of its expression of bright cheerfulness. Lines showed beneath the beard.

"I came within an ace of following my bridge," he confessed. "But I found that I had such a strong physical love of life that I couldn't. I'd made a stupenduous fizzle of things. If I was going on, I had to succeed at something. It didn't greatly matter what. Success does measure things, you see. At least, it fits you to enjoy them. You can't live decently with a failure at the bottom of your soul."

"But tinkering pots!" protested Landis.

"And why not? Did I mend Mrs. Smith's pet pan any the worse yesterday because I could say 'pan' in four languages? Not at all. I've tramped the roads in this fashion three years. I haven't failed once. My patches hold. People are glad to see me again. I stand on my own feet. I live, and I like it!"

His black eyes fairly blazed, as though challenging Landis to contradict him.

"Rather say you exist and drive yourself to believe you like it," answered Landis. "You have really gained nothing."

"I've gained my self-respect," declared the tinker.

"Have you? I doubt it. Do you mean to tell me that the satisfaction of smearing hot solder on the bottom of an old wash-boiler and knowing that you're doing it as well as it can be done makes up for a thousandth part of what you've thrown away? Self-respect, bah! You're hiding behind your fear of failure and trying to satisfy yourself with splendid animal health while you pare the man in you down to fit the scheme of life you've built."

"I can only remind you," repeated the tinker, "that you've not experienced the torture of seeing things that you've done go to smash. That twists a man's point of view into something he wouldn't have believed possible."

Landis shrugged his shoulders. He had

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resumed his seat on the log and commenced to refill his pipe. His eyes did not leave the tinker, who was carefully beating out the last embers of the fire.

"I think your name is John Wallach," Landis said, deliberately.

The other did not raise his head, but Landis saw the color surge into his face.

"There's no fairness in an exchange of names," he answered. "Success robs you of the decent privacy which failure gives."

Landis smoked in silence, biding his time. He knew that the other's mind was stirring, fighting, reaching out in spite of him toward thoughts which he had forced to keep themselves in hiding.

"When you decided against suicide, bought you a soldering-iron, and buried yourself," Landis continued, "you were not half the man you thought you were. It was all very well for you. It was, you thought, the one way out. But don't you see how unfair it was to the woman? You didn't even give her a chance to help."

The tinker raised his head. His eyes were hard and narrow.

"The weather hasn't thickened my skin greatly," he said. "I'm still sensitive to offense. You've been very decent, but such subjects are none of your business, Mr. Landis."

"They're somebody's business," retorted Landis. "A man who's been utterly selfish isn't entitled to any consideration. While you've been letting your beard grow and hammering yourself into believing you were working out your salvation these three years, what do you suppose the woman has been doing? What did you leave her but suffering and regret?"

"Which was, it strikes me, infinitely better than asking her to marry a failure," answered the tinker, then added, bitterly, "And she won't have waited!"

"If you're John Wallach," answered Landis, "I happen to know that she has waited."

The tinker did not reply, but he was on his feet with a spring.

"I was just on the point," continued Landis, "of telegraphing to one of my assistants to come out and help me with some structural steel work I'm doing. That job, and more when that's done, are yours if you want them."

The tinker had commenced stuffing things into his pack, working with nervous haste.

"You've torn everything wide open," he said in a low, tense voice. "You've smashed all my defenses. You've made this thing I've been doing impossible. I vowed I wouldn't turn back. And I won't either, just because you've cut through where my skin's thinnest. Give me a week on the road. I've got to think."

"I'll give you three days," answered Landis. "If you can't think it out in that time, I've no use for you."

From the edge of the woods there came a mighty crackling of brush, then a small voice shouted:

"Daddy!"

Landis turned.

"This way, son," he called.

There came trotting through the trees a shock-headed four-year-old, bare-legged, hatless, his white clothes a mass of tears and stains.

"I couldn't find you anywheres!" he panted; then, seeing the tinker, added, "Hello, man!"

The tinker smiled and nodded.

"Hello, yourself!" he replied.

Landis picked up the boy and swung him onto his shoulder.

"You see, Wallach," he said, "this is what really counts in life, and there's no room for this in a tinker's pack."

The other straightened himself.

"The bridge broke because I made a mistake in multiplying and didn't check it," he said, deliberately.

"You won't make another," answered Landis.

"Then"—Wallach hesitated—"I don't think I need my three days."

"Good!" exclaimed Landis; then to his son, "Bobby, I've found a friend of mine who says he can mend all your broken soldiers."

As they reached the edge of the woods Landis said:

"If I were you, Wallach, I'd throw that stuff into the bushes. There's no use bothering with too many explanations. I rather imagine a friend of yours will be our guest this week-end, and there's no need of having all that folly to explain."

The tinker slipped his pack from his shoulders, took out his tools, and threw them into the brush. The soldering-iron came last, and the man looked at it thoughtfully.

"It appears that instead of one mistake I made two," he said, and sent it spinning after the rest.

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THE SPECTATOR

THE Spectator has always been more or less interested in the "movies," and when the opportunity came to stop off, between fairs, at Los Angeles, the greatest of all moving-picture centers, and to spend a day among the producers, he was very glad to avail himself of the privilege. It began with a trip to Universal City, a city covering many acres devoted entirely to moving-picture making, built in a hollow of the hills, where the warm California sun beats down nearly every day in the year (with a resulting thermometer sometimes, they say, of 115°), and where half a dozen plays are being clicked off simultaneously and a score or more are in process of preparation and rehearsal.

A young actor was kind enough to get into the automobile with the Spectator and others—all in his make-up, too—and show us over Universal City. He enjoyed the work, he said, although there were many risks about it. He looked over toward a roughly constructed wooden bridge which we were just passing. A tiny trickling stream ran beneath. To-morrow, he said, that stream would be a turbid current (they let on the water from tanks on the hill), and a girl would ride over the bridge on a horse and fall through. He would come dashing down the hillside, throw himself into the stream, and pull her out by the hair of her head. Well, there certainly were risks! Were there rehearsals of such a scene as that? Indeed there weren't! It was much too dangerous and unpleasant and wet to be done more than once. And the horse? Oh, the horse at least could swim ashore.

A moving-picture hero may not hear the applause of an audience, although here at Universal City there were always people looking on, but he takes it out in letters from admirers. Our handsome young friend gets hundreds of letters every month from girls. Perhaps it will relieve the minds of their mothers to know that his wife attends to all his correspondence.

The Spectator watched for a long time the preparation of a sleeping-car scene. The audience that looks upon the moving picture will feel that it is gazing down the aisle of a real Pullman car, with berths made up on either side, green curtains, a swinging lamp, and even a bell-rope. A Pullman porter (a real colored man) in regulation cap and white coat, a detective and a criminal handcuffed together, were the chief actors. The train swayed as the conductor came along for the tickets.

All there is of that scene that looked like a car will be included in the photograph. If another foot showed, the audience would know that it was not a car at all, but only an aisle and the outer shell of four sleeping-car sections. All this forms a little house, built on springs so that it can be swayed to give the motion of a train. The bell-cord is fastened to a rough joist over the camera, which stands on solid ground just in front of the aisle. Everything that you can see is as it should be—the rest is a hollow mockery.

When you look upon an interior in a moving-picture play, you are never seeing a *real* interior; you are seeing only two sides, or perhaps a part of three sides, of a specially constructed room, the missing parts being occupied by a crowd of people, a very busy director, and a camera. If you can look through a window out of doors, you are looking at a painted scene. If the film is taking an out-of-door scene, then it is usually genuine, although nearly everything except natural scenery is apt to be constructed for the play—sometimes even city streets, although it is often easier to photograph such scenes in actual streets.

It seemed as if almost every human activity was being carried on somewhere in the grounds of Universal City. A troop of cowboys rode wildly down a hill, their lariats looped over their saddles. A group of a hundred or more Jews—real ones, poor people, men, women, and children, hired for the day from Los Angeles—sat around on the painted curbstone of a made-up ghetto, munching bread and waiting for the director and the camera. Yiddish signs swung over shops, and piles of shabby furniture before some of the doors indicated that an eviction scene was in the making.

Near by was a mining camp, a tough gang making a great rumpus before the bar of an outdoor drinking saloon. There were ramparts on the neighboring hills, and even a section of the Great Pyramid of Cheops. Gypsy carts, emigrant wagons, and Roman chariots stood idly by.

We saw the menagerie where nearly every known animal from an elephant to a monkey

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was on tap, including camels, lions, tigers, leopards, wolves, and dogs of many breeds—Esquimo, St. Bernard, and hunting. The way a lion springs on his moving-picture prey was explained. A Bedouin tent had been constructed for a play then in the works. In it a man is supposed to be sleeping. The tent was inside of several strong wire fences. The lion is let in to one inclosure after another, and just as he reaches the inner fence the man takes himself off and is replaced by a dummy, wearing the same clothes, stuffed full of meat. The camera is put up close to the inclosure; the lion, with a growl, launches himself on his victim, and—click, click, click, click! A million people will shudder at that lion's spring.

In taking pictures in the open white must be avoided. A white shirt, worn without coat or vest, would envelop an actor in an aura; it must be tinted yellow. And great care must be taken to always wear exactly the same costume when parts of the same scenes are taken at different times. Every actor keeps a memorandum of just what he has on. A shot may be fired from the outside of a house at a man inside, and that outside scene may be made twenty-five miles from Los Angeles at a ranch in the mountains. It is perhaps a week later before the bullet finds its mark and the murdered man falls dead in an inside scene in the studio at Los Angeles. Now, if the men outside rush in, they must look exactly as they looked a week before—shoes, ties, and the beards on their faces. The Spectator's young friend had once spoiled some miles of film by forgetting that he had had a five days' growth of beard in the first part of an act, and was clean-shaven through the rest of it.

The facial make-up has to be very strong for the "movies"—a deep color around the eyes, cheeks dashed with purple to make them look red, and often a smear of white under the hair, perhaps to counteract the shadows.

Lunch-time at Universal City! Three hundred people eating in one great, pleasant lunch-room—twenty-five cents for the table-d'hôte, ice-cream ten cents extra. By a special dispensation, the Spectator and his entourage sat at one of the tables reserved, so the sign read, "For Directors and Leads Only." Half the lunchers were in their make-up, and a more conglomerate, interesting crowd the Spectator never ate with. Here was a table of ladies in full evening dress—black lace, low neck—eating beans with a couple of cowboys. The Pride of the Harem appeared in all her glory of shimmering satin and pearls, with her a very tall and melancholy-eyed grand vizier. The sultan was close by—very old, with long white hair, fierce eyes, armed and jeweled to the teeth. The criminal of the sleeping-car scene, his sinister look laid by with his handcuffs, slapped an old black-capped Fagin on the back and sat down beside him. And Fagin did not have time to finish his coffee when the call came, "Ghetto scene, all out!"

Three French maids—pretty creatures with very red lips, short yellow aprons, and piquant yellow caps (they would have white caps and aprons in the picture)—ate their rhubarb pie calmly, while French artists in blouses were throwing dice with the man behind the lunch-counter. An Arab sheik with long white beard strode past, picking his teeth. We missed only one character—Alice. Surely Lewis Carroll's little girl would have been at home in the lunch-room of Universal City. One felt that if one clapped his hands the people would vanish. "You're nothing but a pack of cards!"

Afterwards the Spectator visited the Lasky studios, very perfect in all their accessories. He saw the carpenter shops, where a set of richly carved black oak furniture at least two hundred years old had just been turned out from stained pine. There was a fine old castle on the grounds, a lovely dungeon beneath. The Spectator asked if such an expensive piece of scenery could not be used more than once. Not in that form, they said. It had been in two productions, but with the walls changed about.

Here they were rehearsing a war play. Soldiers were sitting around on the beds of a hospital, while the camera was at work in the next compartment. A Red Cross nurse was posing close to the lens, her face within a foot or two of it, and she was pouring out medicine from a bottle into a glass. The director was coaching her as to the nervousness she was expected to display, for while she poured the thought had come to her that the woman refugee seated behind her in torn and dusty clothing was a spy. In her tremor the bottle tapped against the glass, the lens leaving her face and pointing down to show it.

The nurse spoke her words in a whisper,

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the refugee in a fairly loud and natural voice. It was explained to us that the nurse had been trained by a producer who believes that if the words are spoken out as in a real play there is a loss in facial expression; so he lets his people speak loudly only at first rehearsals, and then tones them down to a whisper.

We saw the Griffith studios, where an Ibsen production was in progress; a banqueting hall, musicians in the gallery, skins and antlers on the walls, a great table set with rich china and lighted candelabra, and at least fifty people strolling about in all manner of old-time costumes. Next door a modern office scene was being tried. The villain would look more villainous with a monocle—try him with that. Good; he is now the typical villain. "Let her go, Harry."

Everywhere the player people were sitting about waiting, waiting—always those long waits. They were much like other people; the majority looked happy and contented. There were jealousies, perhaps, but the Spectator has seen jealousies in business offices, even in churches. Everybody knew everybody else. One girl passed the time with "Reel Life," another with "Adam Bede."

The actors like to appear in good productions. At lunch a near-by "lead" complained that he had not been cast in anything worth while for a fortnight. Our guide told us that he thought more actors and actresses were finding employment to-day in moving pictures than had ever had work on the regular stage. Moreover, they were being better paid for it, and were living more normal lives. He himself had his bungalow at Hollywood. Some of them were extremely well paid. Miss Mary Pickford, whose Cinderella has delighted thousands, is said to receive the comfortable salary of $2,000 a week, paid whether she is working or not. That very funny man who wears a little daub of a mustache, Charlie Chaplin by name, is said to earn $1,500 a week. Some of the directors get $50,000 a year and more. There is a very great profit in a successful production, and more than a hundred thousand dollars is sometimes put into it.

It was in 1882 that the book "The Horse in Motion," by Eadweard Muybridge, appeared, giving the results of the very first experiments in motion pictures, showing the awkward movements of running horses, made from photographs snapped by instantaneous lenses. That experiment of Muybridge's was developed by Edison and others into the cinematograph, first shown in New York at the Union Square Theater in 1896. To-day the moving-picture industry is said to be the third in the United States in point of capital invested. Millions of people get their chief pleasure in seeing them.

And the Spectator had a great day at Los Angeles finding out how it was done.

THE NEW BOOKS

Undercurrents in American Politics. By Arthur Twining Hadley. Yale University Press, New York. $1.35.

The three Oxford lectures contained in this book, entitled "Property and Democracy," interpreted to Englishmen the political and industrial development of the United States under its Constitutional guarantees, resulting in bringing it now face to face with what Europe knows as the social question. The three Virginia lectures, entitled "Political Methods Old and New," deal with the fungus of the extra-constitutional, invisible government that sprouted under President Jackson and has poisoned our party system by perverting it for the benefit of party interests to the detriment of public interests. Dr. Hadley traces the spread of this fungus, exposes the resulting evils, discusses some of the remedies recently introduced or advocated, and shows the changes in our political life needed for their successful operation. These six lectures together constitute an admirable primer on political and economic principles essential to intelligent treatment of our present governmental and industrial problems.

English Countryside (The). By Ernest C. Pulbrook. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3.

It is pleasing and restful to turn from war correspondence and discussion of war issues to this charming collection of talks about the English country. Here we may read of the village green, the wayside cross, the shepherd and his flock, the passing of the mill, and other phases of the lovely and peaceful countryside of England. Even such a warlike title as "Bulwarks of England" is attached, not to a talk about England's sea power, but to a pleasant description of those cliffs which, in a sense, are, or were, England's bulwarks. The author's photographs are quite unusual in their quality and

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composition, and their pictorial effect is supplemented by a charming drawing of a Berkshire village.

Our Palace Wonderful; or, Man's Place in Visible Creation. By the Rev. Frederick A. Houck. D. B. Hansen & Sons, Chicago. $1.

An excellent little book, prepared especially for Roman Catholic readers. It exhibits the testimony of nature to the power, wisdom, and bountifulness of the Creator as manifested in the world we inhabit, in its starry environment, and in ourselves. The author draws largely from the storehouse of striking facts accumulated by various sciences, and everywhere emphasizes their religious significance with appropriate citations from Christian poets and the Scriptures.

His conception of the world as "outside of God" is not as theistic as he claims. This is a characteristic defect of Roman Catholic theology. Real theism, equally emphasizing the transcendence and the immanence of God, regards these terms as primarily dynamic rather than spatial, teaching that God's activity, while transcending all that he creates, is ever energizing within it all both in nature and in man. Nothing can be really outside of the Infinite. "In him we live, and move, and have our being."

America's Greatest Problem: The Negro. By R. W. Shufeldt, M.D. The F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia. $2.50.

This volume recalls to its reviewer a similar work some sixty years ago, which supplied pro-slavery advocates with arguments adduced from the physical structure of the Negro to show his affinity with apes.

Dr. Shufeldt furnishes an arsenal of arguments, physiological, psychical, and historical, for such extremists as Governor Vardaman, of Mississippi, who affirms that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution perpetrated against the Southern whites "the greatest crime ever committed against any people." The Negro, says Dr. Shufeldt, "is *un*-moral, and no amount of education or training is going to change a non-existing element." This figures in "the great sexual differences between the Negro and the white race"—a point stressed with an abundance of fearful stories of crime and disease. Colonial Massachusetts in 1705 put a tax of £4 on each slave coming into her jurisdiction, stating this to be "for the Better Preventing of a spurious or mixt Issue." Dr. Shufeldt notes the fact, wonders at the neglect of any such precaution in the Southern States, says that the half-castes now outnumber the unmixed Africans, and cries, 'Are we to allow this miscegenation to go on? Are we to make a hatchery of crime and disease simply because we are afraid to act?"

To prevent such evils, and to avert a general race war between blacks and whites, his only remedy is to deport all Negroes, the resulting labor vacancy to be filled by encouraging immigration from Europe after the war. He proposes a scheme to effect deportation gradually in the course of ten years at the moderate cost of $100,000,000. Liberia is pointed to as demonstrating that "the Negro is capable of organizing and maintaining a civilized government in the very midst of intellectual and moral darkness." This final emergence of rational judgment raises doubt whether the whole preceding argument is of higher worth than a bad dream.

Near East from Within (The). Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. $3, net.

This book contains some interesting first-hand information; as, for instance, the Czar's opinion of the Bulgarian King, the Montenegrin King's opinion of himself, and Enver Pasha's ideas concerning the future of Turkey. But the book also contains the anonymous author's no less interesting opinions about many important monarchs and men connected with the Near East whom he has seen and known, such as the late King Carol and the present King Ferdinand of Rumania, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, the King of Servia and his trusted Minister Pashitch, the late King George and the present King Constantine of Greece, Sultan Abdul Hamid and Sultan Mehmed of Turkey, and last, but not least, those two German agents in Turkey, Field Marshal Liman von Sanders and the late lamented Baron Marschall von Bieberstein. Bieberstein was a profound student of human nature, a clever diplomat, and "perhaps the one man in the whole world absolutely instructed as to the real aims and policies pursued by William II." Always in the background and yet always insistently in the mind, William II himself may stand forth in a new light to many readers. Possibly for the first time they will comprehend that the German Emperor's Turkish policy was undertaken so that he might give, now to England, now to Russia, a counterbalancing irritant; at all events, such motives are explained in this book. Again, dealing as they do largely with Turkey and with Oriental conditions, the character of the Kaiser in adapting himself to those conditions also comes out clearly; "appreciating to a nicety how far the Turk is glamoured by display and grandiloquence, he adjusted the details of his memorable visits to the different domains of Mohammedanism in the Mediterranean so that the smallest incidents were carefully prepared in advance with regard to the impressions the Emperor desired to make." Who the author of this volume is we do not know. We suspect him to be a German political personage—one no longer in sympathy with the Emperor, now that the latter is willing to lend himself to an engulfing of all Europe in the war. The book should prove profitable reading to many by indicating influences which have been moving under the surface of things and by

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bringing out the personalities who have really, though not always ostensibly, dominated them. In giving certain undercurrent facts there are indications of *chroniques scandaleuses*, but, we are glad to say, they are hardly ever allowed to become objectionable.

Human Motives. By James Jackson Putnam.
The Meaning of Dreams. By Isador H. Coriat.
Sleep and Sleeplessness. By H. Addington Bruce. (Mind and Health Series.) Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1 each.

The three little volumes whose titles are given above are the first issues of a series which has for its intention the presenting in readable and attractive form to the lay reader the results of recent medical and psychological research and experience. The idea of the series is admirable. It is edited by Mr. H. Addington Bruce, who is the author of one of the three volumes, and who furnishes editorial introductions to the others.

In "Sleep and Sleeplessness" Mr. Bruce talks, not only with special knowledge, but in entertaining fashion about the important new theories as to sleep analysis, disorders of sleep, the cause and treatment of sleeplessness, and other kindred subjects. Many of the cases quoted are strange and their interpretation is curious. Dr. Coriat goes further and discusses the psychology and psychopathology of dreams, taking up in particular the extraordinary and exaggerated theories by Dr. Freud, of Vienna, which have lately excited so much debate and aroused also not a little antagonism. The relations of dreams to nervous diseases, the dreams of children, the true theory of the analysis of dreams, and other topics enter into this discussion. Professor Putnam's volume on "Human Motives" takes up from the ethical as well as the scientific standpoint some of the sources and the psychical incitements to human behavior. This book is also largely concerned with Dr. Freud's theories.

Leonardo da Vinci's "Mona Lisa." By John R. Eyre. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.

The so-called Isleworth "Mona Lisa" is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, having been placed there for safekeeping during the war. Mr. Eyre's monograph, dated at Isleworth-on-Thames, has been published to prove that this picture is a genuine work of Leonardo da Vinci. This monograph may shake the traditions of four centuries which have believed that the Louvre "Mona Lisa" was Leonardo's one and only version of the portrait of Madonna Lisa Gioconda. It may indeed be, as Mr. Eyre urges, that there are two "Mona Lisas" in the world to-day, both of superlative and intrinsic merit and both Leonardo's work.

Wild Bird Guests. By Ernest Harold Baynes. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.

Readers of The Outlook have read in its pages more than once descriptions of the author's studies of bird life and of his recommendations as to the right way to conserve that life, to care for and entertain the birds, and to form and carry on bird clubs. This volume treats the subject fully, makes it picturesque and plain by some fifty excellently printed bird pictures—a few of which have already appeared in The Outlook—and is in every way helpful and suggestive to bird lovers. What has been done by Mr. Baynes in the bird village at Meriden, New Hampshire, ought to be done in scores of other places, and if, as he hopes, a network of bird clubs may be spread over the United States, a great advance will be made in the conservation of our song-birds, and wild birds generally.

India and the War. Introduction by Lord Sydenham of Combe. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1, net.

This is not a book of argument on war questions, but a plain statement of what India has done in response to the call of Great Britain, together with some historical statement about the British rule in India, expressions of loyalty from the press, and official documents.

The book is especially notable for the beautiful color plates which present types of Indian troops in all their remarkably varied uniforms. The pictures give a fine and dignified impression of the Oriental soldier and of the picturesqueness of his attire.

Evolution and the War. By P. Chalmers Mitchell. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.

This is an attempt to show in popular form how problems of pure science, and especially of biology, are related to the large social and economic laws which underlie the terrible phenomena of actual war. The author is the Secretary of the Zoölogical Society of London, and the subject-matter of the book was originally prepared for use as lectures. He traces the different racial strains of nations and deduces their resultant attitude to civilization. Thus he argues that there is no agreement between those facts in zoölogy and botany from which the scientific theory of the struggle for existence was derived, and the philosophical claims attributed to German military theories that "the natural law to which all laws of nature can be reduced is the law of struggle." Certainly the book includes a remarkable number of analogies and scientific facts which may well attract the attention of the general reader as well as the theorists and philosophers.

From the Shelf. By Paxton Holgar. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.

This is a collection of light and easy sketches of men, women, and places. There is nothing dramatic about the book; but the people who move gently through the varied stories have charm and sometimes humor, and there is charm also in the environment in which they are described.

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